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NEW GUINEA TRUSTEESHIP ISSUES FROM 1946 TO 1966

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Preface

Australia's League of Nations mandate over New Guinea was changed in 1946 to a United Nations trust.¹ The formal relations thus created between Australia and the United Nations are embodied in the Trusteeship Agreement. Since 1946 Australia's rights and obligations under this agreement have provided many, but not all, of the threads in the complex web of relations between the United Nations, Australia and New Guinea. The role of trustee for New Guinea is only one aspect of Australia's involvement with the United Nations; and the trusteeship is only one part (and a recent part) of Australia's involvement in the affairs of New Guinea. Australian policy is also influenced by sources outside the trustee relationship, such as the Public Service Association of Papua-New Guinea and Burns Philp, the large shipping, plantation and merchandising company, to mention only two. United Nations pressures are therefore not the only substantial influences on Australian policy.

The United Nations exerts its influence on Australian policy in direct and indirect ways. Between direct diplomatic dealings, such as the transmission of General Assembly resolutions, and the indirect influence of public opinion, are other points and occasions of influence, such as the visiting missions. However, the exchange reaches its formal climax in General Assembly and Trusteeship Council resolutions and Australia's responses to them, formally set out in annual reports.

The volume and accessibility of United Nations records permit the attempt made here to identify issues initiated by the General Assembly or the Trusteeship Council over twenty years, to examine the strength, direction and persistence of United Nations influence, and to attempt some assessment of its general effect on decisions made by Australia. The period studied ended in 1966.

United Nations documents, from which much of the material for this bulletin was derived, presented difficulties in referencing. Where a document had an identifying number, it has been given. Where it did not, the particular organ, its session number and date have been shown.

¹ In this bulletin 'New Guinea' denotes the Trust Territory of New Guinea, and 'Papua-New Guinea' denotes the Territory of Papua and New Guinea.

However, uniform references were not possible. The latest New Guinea Annual Report available when this bulletin was written was that for 1964-65.

The material used in this bulletin was presented in slightly different form to the University of Queensland in 1967, as part-fulfilment of the requirements for the Bachelor of Arts (with honours) Degree. Acknowledgment is made to Professor R.G. Crocombe who did much of the preliminary editing.

Chapter 1

Australia and New Guinea: historical outline

Pre-1914

Australia's interest in the island of New Guinea began in the middle of the nineteenth century, and arose from geographic facts and strategic considerations. Australia was the major enclave of Western culture in the Asian-Pacific region, and New Guinea its closest neighbour. France, Germany, Russia and America were all active in the Pacific, and some territorial and other ambitions had been manifested (Brookes 1941). Members of a French missionary order commenced work in the 1870s at what is now Yule Island, and the Marquis de Rays founded his settlement on the south-western coast of New Ireland in 1880. The Russian naturalist, Miklouho-Maclay, lived and worked on the north coast during the same period. The German interest was marked by trading settlements in the Rabaul area (Robson 1965).

The expansion of Australian commerce, investment and missionary activity into the Pacific seemed to the governments of the Australian colonies to require the protection of British annexation. It was also felt that any foreign acquisitions of territory in the Pacific would seriously threaten the security of the Australasian possessions (Grattan 1963:495). In the 1880s such views aroused a reluctant response in the British Colonial Office, and in 1884 Britain declared a protectorate over an area which it called British New Guinea. The Australian states had hoped that all the main island east of the 141st parallel of longitude would be taken, but Britain's act encompassed only the southern part: Germany had annexed the northern part three days before the British proclamation. Australian policy had thus partly failed, and a major foreign power was established in New Guinea.¹ In 1888 the area known as British New Guinea was annexed, and in 1901 became the Australian colony of Papua. Australia's ambitions towards Papua-New Guinea had been frustrated by only partial possession, but another chance was to come in 1914.

¹ The Dutch, of course, had claimed the whole of West New Guinea from the 141st parallel in 1848 in the name of the Sultan of Tidore, with whom they had had treaty relations since 1660 (Souter 1964:127).

Military government and mandate

In September 1914 an Australian military force occupied German New Guinea, and it remained under military occupation until 1920, when the League of Nations gave Australia a 'C' Class mandate over it. A civil administrator took over the military administration on 9 May 1921.

Mr W.M. Hughes, then Prime Minister of Australia, sought annexation of New Guinea to Australia at Versailles in 1919. He regarded this as no more than a quid pro quo for Australia's part in the first world war. As he believed New Guinea was a vital element in Australia's defence, he argued that it should be firmly under Australian control. This clashed with Woodrow Wilson's hostility to annexations; the compromise was the 'C' Class mandate (Ward 1965:107). In McDonald's view (1949:3) 'the mandatories of B-class and C-class mandates were very nearly sovereign rulers'.

However, the mandate did not rest too heavily on Australia's shoulders. The Permanent Mandates Commission (on behalf of the League of Nations) formulated the following criteria for readiness for self-government: a settled government, a capacity to maintain territorial integrity and political independence, a capacity to maintain the public peace, adequate financial resources, the laws and the judiciary to give equal and regular justice to all, and protection to minorities and aliens. Yet there appears to have been no serious expectation that these would apply to 'C' Class mandates. The role of the Permanent Mandates Commission emerged as one of regulating colonial government rather than attempting its abolition (McDonald 1949:4). On this basis Australia's discharge of its obligations seems to have been generally well received by the Commission (Harper and Sissons 1959:181).

Article 4 of the Mandate denied Australia the right to initiate any local defence measures in New Guinea. This seems ironical when defence had always been one of the main elements of Australian interest in New Guinea. Between the 1880s and the 1930s the main potential threat perceived by Australia had moved from Europe to Asia, but New Guinea was thought to serve as a line of defence against both.

Australia assumed - as did other colonial powers - that colonies should be financially self-supporting, but the British colonial development plans of the late 1930s had no equivalent in Australian policies of this period. Australia's attitude to New Guinea from 1921 to 1942 was summed up by McAuley (1953:61) as based on the premise that New Guineans were destined to 'perpetual subjection'. That the premise could never persist as an explicit policy was soon to become manifest.

Australia's renewed interest in New Guinea

An early sign of Australia's renewed interest in New Guinea during the second world war was the re-creation in 1941 of a separate

Department of External Territories. Some further indications appeared in 1944. An agreement between Australia and New Zealand in January 1944 concerning defence in the South-West Pacific (Harper and Sissons 1959:29) declared in Section 28 that the obligations involved in trusteeship applied in principle to all colonial territories, and that 'the main purpose of the trust is the welfare of the native people and their social, economic and political development'. Australia's attitude towards its long-term task in New Guinea was detailed in Sections 29, 30 and 31 concerning an advisory regional organisation.¹

Also in 1944, Australia declared its intention to abolish the indentured labour system in New Guinea as soon as possible (Shaw 1965:80). In 1945, Mr E.J. Ward, then Minister for Territories, indicated that the government was dissatisfied with Australia's pre-war New Guinea policy and that it proposed to increase opportunities of advancement for the indigenous community (McDonald 1949:37).

Colonial issues and the establishment of the United Nations

The Dumbarton Oaks Proposals concerning an international organisation were produced on 7 October 1944.² Although no specific mention was made of colonial issues, Section D provided for such additions. The Australian delegation therefore could make general proposals concerning colonial policies on this basis.

The Yalta Conference was held in February 1945 between Dumbarton Oaks and the San Francisco conference which established the United Nations.³ At Yalta, Britain, America, Russia, France and China were unable to agree on a common policy on colonial and trusteeship issues. It was agreed, however, that there should be further consultation prior to San Francisco, and that trustee principles should be considered only in relation to existing mandates, territories detached from enemy states, and any territories voluntarily submitted.

The United Nations Conference on International Organisation was held in San Francisco from 25 April to 26 June 1945. The Australian Labour Party constituted the government at this time, and its heritage of internationalism, tempered with isolationism, influenced Australian attitudes on colonial questions, in particular through its support of the doctrine of international accountability (Harper and Sissons 1959:211) and its distrust of European imperialism. Australian policy included three elements: first, that some form of trusteeship should be extended to all colonies; second, that all existing mandates should be

¹ Current Notes on International Affairs (hereafter referred to as Current Notes), vol.20, no.1, contains the text of the Agreement.

² See World Peace Foundation 1945:19. ³ See *ibid.*, p.32.

converted to trusts, and third, that there should be international accountability. The first, given the general views on trusteeship that were emerging, implied ultimate self-government or independence and also increased aid by the trustee. On the second point, Australia initially envisaged a form of trusteeship which embodied only light obligations for the trustees but would be of world-wide scope. This was contrary to the Yalta Declaration, and it was not adopted at San Francisco (Chowdhuri 1955:65).

Concerning the third point, Australia had few colonies and of these both New Guinea and Nauru were under mandate, and Papua was to be jointly administered with New Guinea. Thus, comparatively, Australia had little to lose if a general internationalisation of colonial administration was introduced. Australia, perhaps because of its generally good relations with the Permanent Mandates Commission, supported a British suggestion of a commission advisory to the Economic and Social Council. In pursuit of its aim of a world-wide system, Australia further suggested that the Organisation be able to place colonies under trust against the wishes of the trustee (Chowdhuri 1955:58). Later, when the discussion moved from such a commission to a trusteeship council, Australia sought to give the council 'powers to control the execution of its instructions and recommendations' (Chowdhuri 1955:59). The failure to achieve general accountability led to the British and Australian sponsorship of Chapter XI of the Charter which deals with accountability for 'non-self-governing territories'.¹

San Francisco indicated the changes, or lack of them, in Australian thinking on colonial issues between 1919 and 1945: awareness of obligations had sharpened, and for Australia the defence value of New Guinea had been clearly demonstrated during the second world war. If a strong 'ideological distrust of colonial capitalism' (Harper and Sissons 1959:182) was early manifest by Australia, it later became less obvious as the anti-colonial voices in the United Nations became more clearly identifiable.²

In reconciling trusteeship principles, and the idealism they embodied, with national security, 'the makers of the San Francisco Charter had to face...an outstanding instance of the conflict between national and international security, and between humanitarian aims and political, economic and strategic calculations' (McDonald 1949:21). At San Francisco, Australia, led by Dr H.V. Evatt, then Minister for

¹ See Appendix 5.

² At first these consisted mainly of the communist bloc and non-aligned countries such as India and some of the South American countries, although America was also frequently critical at this time; from the late 1950s, however, the anti-colonial group was greatly strengthened by the achievement of independence of many former colonies in Africa and Asia.

External Affairs, played a not inconsiderable part in this reconciliation, and in shaping the organisations and policies which were to become central in the colonialism debate after 1945. Australia's position was made easier because in Stanner's (1953:92) words, 'There was a large measure of agreement between the general style of policy it was desired to follow in the islands and the international attitudes current at this period concerning the future of colonies'. This 'large measure of agreement' was not to prove very durable.

Trusteeship Agreement

On 17 January 1946 Australia announced its intention of placing New Guinea under a United Nations trusteeship, and on 13 December 1946 the Trusteeship Agreement was approved.¹ All other countries which had held mandates from the League of Nations, except South Africa in respect of Southwest Africa, similarly converted their mandates to trusts. Given the diverse approaches to colonialism of members, it was already clear that colonial issues could not occupy a small and quiet backwater in international affairs. Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter seemed to ensure that the United Nations could be used to improve colonial government and to lead colonies to self-determination.²

Positive Australian views were expressed on Australian interests in New Guinea at this time. As early as September 1945, the Sydney Morning Herald (Harper and Sissons 1959:92) suggested the following policy for the Pacific colonies: first, the islands formerly under Japanese mandate should be transferred to the United States of America; second, the New Guinea Trusteeship Agreement should provide for its defence but not for an 'open door' policy; and third, some internationalisation of mandates and enemy territories was acceptable, but any move towards a general internationalisation would be wrong. The London Times of 19 January 1946 quoted the veteran of Versailles, Mr W.M. Hughes (Hudson 1966:209), speaking on New Guinea: 'This is a matter of life and death...our security can never be assured unless there is full control of these territories, which are the outer bastions of our defence.' Government policy was unambiguous. In August 1946 Prime Minister Chifley said,

The Commonwealth of Australia, as the administering authority, must have full power of legislation, administration and jurisdiction over the territory. The Territory of New Guinea...is of such importance to the safety of this country that nothing

¹ Chapter XIII of the Charter deals with trusteeship, and Articles 79, 83 and 85 provide for the negotiation of agreements in relation to each territory (i.e. see Appendix 5). See Appendix 6 for the Trusteeship Agreement.

² See Appendix 5.

but absolute control could be accepted by any Australian government. Moreover, the welfare of the native peoples demands such control.¹

He emphasised Australia's new rights as a trustee to defend New Guinea, and its glad acceptance of the duty to advance its people. He further emphasised that as trusteeship agreements required joint agreement between the United Nations and the trustee (Articles 79 and 85 in relation to New Guinea), Australia could ensure her interests were not ignored.

Trusteeship agreements had to: provide for the specification of territory boundaries; nominate the administering power and its rights and duties; provide for the application of relevant international conventions; specify public rights; and provide for some general matters (for example, the procedure by which the agreement could be amended and the submission of annual reports).

Australia's Trusteeship Agreement is a brief document mainly because Australia wished to avoid detailed repetition of obligations already generally stated in the Charter, in order to ensure there was nothing inimical to its interests. It contained the defence rights Australia sought, and the right to apply its own national trade and immigration policies in New Guinea, despite attempts to exclude the last two points. It did not contain a clause which would require the reference of disputes on interpretation of the Agreement to the International Court of Justice;² and Russian and Indian attempts to have clauses requiring the granting of independence in ten years were not successful. The statement of Harper and Sissons (1959:83) that 'Australian interests in New Guinea were carefully safeguarded' seems well justified.

¹ Commonwealth Parliamentary Debates (hereafter referred to as CPD), vol.188, p.3853.

² All agreements except those for New Guinea and Nauru contained such a clause.

Chapter 2

Australia's post-war relations with New Guinea

Constitution and treaties

Section 122 of the Australian Constitution gives the Commonwealth Parliament authority 'to make laws for the government of any territory surrendered by any state to and accepted by the Commonwealth, or of any territory placed by the Queen under the authority of and accepted by the Commonwealth, or otherwise acquired by the Commonwealth'. This section has provided a basis for the constitutional relationship between Australia and New Guinea. The Papua and New Guinea Provisional Administration Act of 1945 remained in force until it was repealed on 1 July 1949 by the Papua and New Guinea Act 1949, which was given its first reading in the Australian Parliament on 18 June 1948. Discussion on the Bill was then adjourned while Australia sought the views of the United Nations on it, and it was finally passed by Parliament during March 1949.

The Act was an important step in the constitutional evolution of New Guinea as it provided for an Executive Council, a Legislative Council, a permanent public service, and an administrative union between New Guinea and Papua. It maintained the position of Administrator and the structure of the Supreme Court, established in 1945. The Executive Council consisted of the Administrator and 10 official members. The Legislative Council, formally inaugurated on 26 November 1951, had 29 members. It was presided over by the Administrator and was composed of 16 officials, 3 elected members, 3 nominated mission representatives, 3 nominated indigenous members, and 3 nominated members representing other interests. The membership of both councils and the procedural requirements of the legislature gave the Administration control of their business. This control was reinforced by authorities of assent and reservation vested in the Australian Governor-General in Council.

The composition of both councils was drastically altered by the Papua and New Guinea Act of 1961. The Executive Council was renamed the Administrator's Council and its membership was reduced to 7. The Administrator continued as chairman and the number of officials was reduced to 3. Three non-official members were drawn from the Legislative Council, 2 elected and 1 appointed by nomination by the Administrator. The membership of the Legislative Council, with the

Administrator in the chair, was increased to 37: 14 nominated officials, 6 elected Europeans, 6 elected Papuans or New Guineans and 10 nominated members. Of this last group of 10, 5 had to be either Papuans or New Guineans, and 5 had to be resident in New Guinea. Although the Administration thus abandoned its official majority, its control over the legislative process remained.

The Papua and New Guinea Act of 1963 provided for further radical changes, which came into operation after elections early in 1964. The Administrator's Council was enlarged from 7 to 11. Official membership remained at 3, but the number of non-official members was increased from 3 to 7 and these had to be elected members of the legislature. The legislature was renamed the House of Assembly and its membership was increased from 37 to 64. A Speaker, elected by members, replaced the Administrator in the chair. The number of official members was reduced from 14 to 10. The 16 elected and appointed members were replaced by 54 members elected by adult franchise from a common roll: 44 from open electorates and 10 from special electorates. All electors thus voted twice, once for their 'open' candidates, preferentially, and again for their 'special' candidates, preferentially. Special candidates had to be 'persons not being indigenous inhabitants of the Territory'.¹ The existing authorities of reserve and assent on legislation vested partly in the Administrator and partly in the Australian Governor-General in Council were retained. Ten indigenous under-secretaries were nominated by the Administrator from the elected members of the House to undertake practical training in ministerial functions.

Other important aspects of government, such as trade and immigration, were covered by the application of Commonwealth statutes to Papua-New Guinea. Many treaties, agreements and conventions made or entered into by Australia also applied. The list ranged over general, multilateral and bilateral documents, and included the Security Treaty between Australia, New Zealand and America (from 29 April 1952), and the South-East Asia Collective Defence Treaty and Protocol (from 19 February 1955).²

The course of the war in the Pacific from 1941 to 1945 had emphasised the importance of New Guinea to Australia's defence; and post-war events in Asia and South-East Asia intensified this long-standing interest in the country. The year 1949, for instance, saw the Communists established in China, insurgency in Malaya and Indo-China, rising tension between North and South Korea, and the commencement of the dispute between

¹ The ordinances concerned are the Electoral Ordinance, the Electoral (Open Electorates) Ordinance, and the Electoral (Special Electorates) Ordinance, all of 1963. This subject is dealt with in the New Guinea Annual Report (hereafter abbreviated to NGAR), 1963-64:27, 28 and 38.

² A full list is included in NGAR 1957-58:221 and 1962-63:296.

Indonesia and the Netherlands over West New Guinea. Australia was determined to ensure that existing rights in New Guinea were not diminished and these treaty arrangements helped to achieve this.

Australia's defence interest in New Guinea was reaffirmed on 9 January 1967 by Mr D.O. Hay who said, on assuming office as Administrator, 'I am authorised to repeat and confirm Australia's promise to support the people of Papua and New Guinea so long as that is what they want. Australia will defend this Territory as though it were part of the Australian mainland'.¹ However, the first post-war Administrator, Colonel J.K. Murray, had raised another important but little explored point on defence in his 1947 Macrossan lecture when he said (1949:11), 'Security may well be wrapped up, to an extent quite unappreciated by the Australian public, in an adequately conceived and vigorously implemented policy of native welfare'. Friendly relations between Australia and an independent New Guinea might serve both countries better than bases or other fixed installations.

Structure

The evolution of the constitutional relationship between Australia and New Guinea affected membership of Cabinet, allocation of portfolios, and the structure of the Commonwealth public service. A Department of Home Affairs and Territories dealt with New Guinea matters from 1920 to 1928, when it was disbanded in a reorganisation. Territories reappeared as a Department in 1934, but its separate status was not continued after November 1938. It was reconstituted as a separate portfolio in June 1941, and in 1943 it was united with Transport where it remained until December 1949. The staff dealing with New Guinea affairs was always small in comparison with the size of the Department of Territories by, say, 1964.

In 1944, a committee of the Australian Cabinet was formed to deal with the transfer from a military to a civil administration. This was followed in April 1947 by the formation of an inter-departmental committee on plans for Papua-New Guinea.² Neither of these committees seems to have operated for long. In December 1949, on the formation of the Liberal Ministry by Mr R.G. Menzies, Transport was removed from the Department of Transport and External Territories, and both External Affairs and External Territories were made the charge of one Minister. In May 1951 a separate Department of Territories was established, and Mr P.M.C. Hasluck remained its Minister until March 1964. His tenure of the office earned him a wide reputation for ability, energy and strong-mindedness, and he left a permanent mark on Papua-New Guinea.

¹ Current Notes, vol.38, no.1, p.37.

² Ibid., vol.20, no.10, p.1083, contains a statement on 11 October 1949 by Prime Minister Chifley.

He had a seat in Cabinet, whereas his successor, Mr C.E. Barnes, did not achieve this for some time. The Department of Territories administered the Northern Territory, Norfolk Island, Cocos Islands, Christmas Island and Papua-New Guinea.¹ Of these, Papua-New Guinea was by far the largest external territory, and it was perhaps inevitable that it became the focus of departmental attention. The Department rapidly expanded to better exercise its general responsibility for Papua-New Guinea affairs.

The Administrator was responsible directly to the Minister, but he was not the only point of contact between the Australian government and the New Guinea Administration. When a public service commissioner was appointed in 1949, his responsibility was not to the Administrator, but to the Minister. Formal channels were further complicated by the establishment in New Guinea of extensions of Commonwealth organs (for example, Department of the Army, Department of Works, and the Auditor-General), whose responsibilities were to their own Ministers in Canberra, and whose relationships to the Administrator were either consultative (Army) or contractual (Works). An additional complication was the practice of consultations between subordinate officials of both Canberra and Port Moresby.

Operations

Two statements made in 1952 by Hasluck (1952:227-8) as Minister for Territories clearly illustrate the manner in which the formal organs and procedures were expected to operate: 'For some years to come, it is inevitable that Papua and New Guinea will be administered as a territory and that the administration will become increasingly centralised in Australia...' This was a result of the constitutional superiority of the Commonwealth Parliament, the size of Australia's grants to Papua-New Guinea, Australia's international responsibility for Papua-New Guinea, and Australia's obligation to maintain its security. In the House of Representatives on 15 May 1952, Hasluck said (McAuley 1953:66), 'Disagreement with the policy of the Government is impossible because the Administrator carries out the policy of the Government, and can have no policy independent from that of the Government'. In practice this policy meant that senior and experienced officials in Papua-New Guinea had to seek ratification of their decisions from comparatively junior and less knowledgeable officials in Canberra.

Australian colonial practice in constitutional and administrative matters was modelled on the British pattern, but this tight control of Papua-New Guinea affairs by the metropolitan government was a radical

¹ In February 1968 Papua-New Guinea became (with Norfolk Island, Cocos Islands and Christmas Island) the responsibility of the re-named Department of External Territories.

departure from British colonial policy. The latter was based on selecting the right person for governor, and then letting him govern with a minimum of interference from the Colonial Office. The Australian departure can be seen as a pragmatic adjustment to the particular features of the relationship between Australia and New Guinea. At this time the issue was not one of transferring authority from the public service to representative institutions (still in a rudimentary stage of development), but of sharing authority between Canberra and Port Moresby. While there was probably an assumption among expatriates that government in Papua-New Guinea generally enjoyed popular (if unformalised) consent, legitimacy derived from the Australian Constitution and the Trusteeship Agreement.

The acceptance of the Mandate from the League of Nations and the making of the Trusteeship Agreement with the United Nations meant that Australia undertook a number of obligations and limited its freedom of action by accepting goals formed only in part by itself. These extra obligations which affect the relationship between Australia, New Guinea, and the United Nations are now examined.

The Mandate

The events leading up to the granting of the Mandate over New Guinea to Australia have been described.¹ The three main obligations written into the Mandate were: promotion of indigenous welfare, agreement not to militarise New Guinea, and acceptance of international supervision.

The first obligation was specified in three places: first, positively in Article 2, 'The Mandatory shall promote to the utmost the interest and moral well-being and the social progress of the inhabitants of the Territory subject to the present mandate'; second, in Article 3 by prohibiting the slave trade and forced labour (the latter with some qualifications), the supply of intoxicating spirits and beverages to the inhabitants, and the control of the traffic in arms and ammunition; and third, in Article 5 by 'ensuring in the Territory freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship'. The second obligation was written into Article 4, which prohibited the establishment of military or naval bases and the erection of fortifications and the military training of the inhabitants for other than internal police and local defence. The third obligation was contained in Articles 6 and 7 and required the Mandatory to submit an annual report; it also specified procedures to change the Mandate and to settle disputes on interpretation between the League and the Mandatory.

Trusteeship and administrative union

If the mandate system under the League of Nations represented the first attempt, based on accountability to an international organisation,

¹ See p.2.

at an international formal codification of the idea of trusteeship, then trusteeship under the United Nations was a further substantial stage in this trend.

Chapters XII and XIII of the United Nations Charter contain the articles dealing with the trusteeship system.¹ These may first be compared with the three main obligations prescribed in the Mandate. 'Welfare', the first of the mandate obligations, was more precisely detailed in the United Nations documents. Article 3 of the Trusteeship Agreement² required the administering authority to adhere to the goals set out in Article 76 of the Charter, the major one of which is eventual attainment of self-government or independence. In addition to Article 3, Articles 4, 6 and 8(2) all dealt in part with matters included under the general rubric 'welfare', such as the maintenance of peace and order, the application of international agreements, the promotion of educational advancement, and the assurance to New Guineans of 'a progressively increasing share in...administrative and other services'. The principle of non-militarisation, the second mandate obligation, was reversed in the Trusteeship Agreement, which enabled the administering authority to take all measures 'to provide for the defence of the Territory and for the maintenance of international peace and security'. International supervision or accountability, the third obligation under the Mandate, was made more stringent by the right of the United Nations to send visiting missions to trust territories, and to receive petitions from their inhabitants. Reports were to be submitted in accordance with a detailed and comprehensive questionnaire proposed by the Trusteeship Council. The Charter also provided for the extension of trusteeship to any other territory by agreement with the United Nations. Finally, it provided for the residential supervision of a territory, as in the case of Somaliland.³

The supervisory processes of the United Nations were more comprehensive than those of the League. They were readily available to the anti-colonial nations because non-administering powers were members of the Trusteeship Council (the primary organ of supervision), and the General Assembly and particularly the Fourth Committee⁴ continuously involved themselves in colonial matters.

Attitudes in Australia towards Australia's international obligations to New Guinea varied between two extremes. Prime Minister Chifley said in the House of Representatives on 7 August 1946, 'we shall recognise

¹ See Appendix 5.

² See Appendix 6.

³ The temporary direct administration of Netherlands New Guinea (now Irian Barat) was an ad hoc arrangement under the responsibility of the Secretary-General.

⁴ See pp.17-19.

and gladly accept the general duty, laid down in the Charter, to promote the welfare and advancement of the inhabitants of New Guinea'.¹ Almost three years later, on 1 March 1949, Mr A. Cameron, a member of the Liberal Opposition of conservative temper, said during the debate on the Papua and New Guinea Act,

In my opinion, Part II, relating to the Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of New Guinea, should not be endorsed. At this stage we should tell the United Nations to mind its own business, take over the territory ourselves, and administer it to the mutual advantage of the natives of New Guinea and the Commonwealth of Australia, which would be primarily responsible for its defence and protection in the event of any trouble arising.²

Before discussing the administrative union of New Guinea with Papua which was authorised by Article 4 of the Agreement, Chapter XI, on non-self-governing territories, warrants a short discussion. Australia's part in its drafting has been mentioned.³ Earlier Australian suggestions that Australia might place Papua under trusteeship were not pursued, but it did agree to submit information on Papua to the Secretary-General in accordance with the Charter. Perhaps one of the factors that provoked this retreat from the liberalism embodied in the earlier suggestions was the speed with which anti-colonial nations gathered strength in the United Nations. What was not apparent in 1946 was that by 1966 the comparative importance of Chapters XII and XIII concerning trusteeship on the one hand, and Chapter XI on non-self-governing territories on the other, would be reversed, and the anti-colonial movement would be depending less and less on Chapters XII and XIII, and more and more on Chapter XI.⁴

The provision for 'customs, fiscal or administrative union or federation with other dependent territories under its jurisdiction' was a major feature of the Trusteeship Agreement. Union between New Guinea and Papua was first considered in 1919 and on a number of occasions since then by Australia and the Permanent Mandates Commission. The anti-colonial powers in the United Nations were extremely suspicious and critical of administrative unions in general. General Assembly resolution 224 (III) of 18 November 1948 declared that an administrative union 'must remain strictly administrative in its nature and its scope, and ...its operation must not have the effect of creating any conditions which will obstruct the separate development of the Trust Territory in the fields of political, economic, social and educational

¹ CPD, vol.188, p.3854.

² CPD, vol.201, p.752.

³ See p.4.

⁴ See Appendix 5 for Chapters XI, XII and XIII of the Charter.

advancement, as a distinct entity'.¹ Australia gave the following reasons in the Trusteeship Council for the policy of union: the geographical unity of the two territories; the absence of any ethnic separation; the necessity for equal services to achieve a common spread of development; improvement of the public service, because it would be bigger; the rationalisation of communications; and the emergence of better trade terms.²

The hardening of Australia's attitude at this time is illustrated by a vote against an Indian proposal, during November 1947, to invite powers to put 'backward' territories under trusteeship in accordance with Article 77(1) (c) of the Charter. At San Francisco, as Chowdhuri (1955:143) noted, Australia had sponsored a proposal similar to that against which it now voted. Since then, the trusteeship system had taken a different shape from that envisaged by Australia and the strength of anti-colonial feeling had been revealed.³ The general issue was settled in November 1949 by resolution 326(IV) that the General Assembly would require prior notification of new unions, Trusteeship Council supervision of all the united territory, maintenance of a separate judiciary and legislature in each territory party to the union, and prior consultation with the public. The Trusteeship Council, where the administering authorities had greater voting strength, reshaped this resolution for its own purposes into four safeguards: submission of accurate and separate data, free access to relevant information for visiting missions, respect for trust territory boundaries, and trust territory expenditure at least as great as its revenue.

One further aspect of the administrative union requires discussion. As mentioned,⁴ the bill for the Papua and New Guinea Act (No.9 of 1949) was offered for discussion in the United Nations. The Trusteeship Council reported that 'The Administering Authority, while considering itself under no obligation to do so, submitted the proposed legislation to the Trusteeship Council before it was discussed in the Australian Parliament. It took into full consideration the conclusions and recommendations made by the Council at its third session, as well as the observations made by individual members'.⁵ To meet these criticisms,

¹ United Nations Document A/810, p.86.

² The full text of the debates is in the Official Records of the Trusteeship Council, Second Session, First and Second Parts, and the Third Session, 20 November 1947 to 5 May 1948 and 16 June 1948 to 5 August 1948.

³ Fox (1950:199-218) has some interesting comments on this subject in relation to the United Kingdom.

⁴ See p.7.

⁵ Trusteeship Council Report, 1949-50, A/1306, p.112.

Australia made amendments concerning the status of New Guinea, the definition of districts, the assignment of one seat in the legislature to New Guinea, and tariff arrangements.

The debates on trusteeship agreements revealed the strength of anti-colonialism and the rapidity with which anti-colonial delegates took advantage of the opportunities created by the United Nations to clarify and pursue their aims. Dr H.V. Evatt responded to these pressures, although he showed no signs of appreciating their origins and dynamism, when he said in 1947 (Leifer 1953:129):

It is ironic, to say the least, that a country that has faithfully carried out its international obligations in respect of mandated territories, and has a good record of achievement in promoting the political, economic and social development of other non-self-governing territories, should be subject to constant carping criticism by representatives of governments who in their own metropolitan territories do not or cannot claim that their own nations enjoy equivalent rights and privileges.

Chapter 3

The United Nations

Structure

The United Nations came into being on 24 October 1945, when its Charter became operative. The League of Nations terminated itself on 18 April 1946, and transferred its assets to the United Nations on 1 August 1946. The Permanent Mandates Commission was disbanded with the League, and was succeeded by the Trusteeship Council. According to Chowdhuri (1955:8), 'Both the institutions emerged out of the global wars when humanitarian feeling clashed with practical realism leading to a final compromise, which recognized that the well-being of the non-self-governing peoples was a matter of vital international concern'.

Most of the organs of the United Nations are involved in colonial issues. The General Assembly functions of formulating general principles, providing a venue for political bargaining, managing the United Nations, framing quasi-legislation, and electing members to other organs provide ample opportunities for colonial questions to be raised.¹ The General Assembly (Article 85 of the Charter) is also responsible for 'the functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements' and the Trusteeship Council assists with these functions, in association with the Assembly. The Economic and Social Council is drawn into colonial and trusteeship matters under Chapter X of the Charter.

Trusteeship issues are included in the list of 'important matters' requiring a two-thirds majority vote in the General Assembly. The other matters included in this category - peace and security, elections to the Security Council, admission of new members and expulsion of members - demonstrate the importance given to colonial issues in 1945. The General Assembly is divided into six numbered committees, and the fourth of these is the Trusteeship Committee,² which from the beginning

¹ There is a valuable discussion of United Nations resolutions, their legal status and functions, in Castles (1967).

² Hereafter referred to as the Fourth Committee.

also concerned itself with issues arising from non-self-governing territories.

The composition of the Trusteeship Council is specified in Article 86 of Chapter XIII of the Charter, and it includes members administering trust territories. The Trusteeship Council could therefore not be formed until administering members existed, and this required the formal conclusion of trusteeship agreements between the United Nations and administering members. Accordingly, on 13 December 1946, the General Assembly adopted resolution 63(I) which approved eight trusteeship agreements, including that with Australia concerning New Guinea. The General Assembly elected the requisite number of members and the first meeting of the Trusteeship Council opened on 26 March 1947. The Trusteeship Council is one of the principal organs of the United Nations, and is thus formally of equivalent status to the General Assembly, the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council. However, unlike these three bodies, its functions make it a self-liquidating body, as it is committed to bring to independence the territories on whose trust status its existence depends.

National representatives on the Trusteeship Council differed widely in experience. Some administering powers nominated officials with experience in colonial administration, but the Australian delegation was invariably led by a diplomat from the Department of External Affairs with a senior official from either the Department of Territories or the New Guinea Administration as special representative. The non-administering powers (in many cases recently emerged from a period of rule by a major colonial power) tended to nominate professional diplomats charged with the task of pressing the anti-colonial case. It was not, however, a simple opposition of contrasted viewpoints with all the experience and rationality on one side. Trusteeship Council personnel were often close enough to conditions in many of the trust territories to be aware of the inapplicability of the doctrinaire elements in much of the anti-colonial argument, and service on the Trusteeship Council tended to modify the more extreme anti-colonial views of non-administering members.

Its general oversight of the trusteeship system was implemented by arranging visiting missions and examining their reports; receiving and examining petitions from residents of trust territories; receiving and examining the annual reports on trust territories prepared by the administering authorities; receiving and acting on matters referred to it by the General Assembly, the Secretary-General, or other United Nations organs; and reporting on its work to the General Assembly.

Much of the Trusteeship Council's first session was devoted to setting its procedures and to drafting a questionnaire for reports from administering authorities. Procedures were changed as necessary and short-term sub-committees were established to investigate such matters as administrative unions, rural economic development, petitions,

and the revision of the questionnaire. Chowdhuri (1955:191) also mentioned an 'Ad hoc committee on the Participation of the Indigenous Inhabitants of the Trust Territories in the Work of the Trusteeship Council', in existence in 1955.¹ There is also a brief mention of a 'Committee on the Question of the Attainment of Self-Government or Independence'² appointed by the Trusteeship Council during July 1955.

Procedures

The Fourth Committee of the General Assembly, like the Trusteeship Council, is self-liquidating, but because it is concerned with non-self-governing territories in addition to trust territories, it appears certain to have a longer life than the Trusteeship Council. The Fourth Committee also plays a major part in determining when a non-self-governing territory ceases to have this status for United Nations purposes. A divergence of views between the Trusteeship Council and the Fourth Committee soon appeared with the admission to the United Nations of former colonies and trust territories. The Fourth Committee quickly adopted the technique of drafting resolutions for the General Assembly which attempted to impose a tighter control over the procedures of the Trusteeship Council.

A major advantage enjoyed by the Trusteeship Council was its control of visiting missions. These were a most important means of contact between the United Nations and the trust territories, although Chowdhuri (1955:226), in writing that 'properly organized Missions can serve as a bridge connecting the United Nations, the Administering Authorities, and the twenty million inhabitants of the Trust Territories', was perhaps overstating their functions. This advantage was not a monopoly for the General Assembly also sent visiting commissions to trust territories, heard and questioned petitioners (through the Fourth Committee) and observed elections (Nicholas 1961:135). But the anti-colonial nations have not been able to use General Assembly missions as a serious challenge to visiting missions arranged by the Trusteeship Council, although Article 87³ would seem to permit this. A mission visiting a territory without the co-operation of the administering power would be unlikely to achieve anything substantial. However, visiting missions themselves attracted Fourth Committee attention. General Assembly resolution 321(IV) wanted them to report on the achievement of the objectives specified in Article 76(b)⁴ of the Charter, and resolutions 434(V) and 553(VI) both suggested procedures intended to make them more effective. In addition, resolution 434(V) wanted the Trusteeship Council

¹ Few of these committees are mentioned in the United Nations Year Books.

² United Nations Document A/2933, p.2.

³ See Appendix 5.

⁴ See *ibid.*

'to direct visiting missions to take advantage of every opportunity to inform the indigenous inhabitants of the workings and operations of the international trusteeship system'. This is the sort of bridge-building role Chowdhuri seems to have envisaged.

These Fourth Committee attempts to dominate the Trusteeship Council were motivated by real differences of attitude to colonial issues. The voting arrangements in each of the organs concerned were important. The Trusteeship Council was composed of equal numbers of administering members and Security Council permanent members not otherwise seated, and non-administering members. Its procedure provided that a tied vote was lost. Resolutions therefore had to be acceptable to the administering members to be adopted. The Fourth Committee needed only one-third of its membership for a quorum, and adopted motions on a simple majority vote. The steadily increasing voting strength of the anti-colonial nations thus gave them formal control of its business. But the General Assembly in plenary session required a two-thirds majority on trusteeship issues, and this frequently meant modification of the more extreme proposals from the Fourth Committee.

There were three main related reasons behind the emergence of a series of General Assembly committees concerned with colonial issues: first, the inability of anti-colonial delegates to dominate the Trusteeship Council; second, the location of many anti-colonial issues (concerning non-self-governing territories) outside the aegis of the Trusteeship Council, but within the competence of the General Assembly; third, the increasing strength of anti-colonialism in the General Assembly. Perhaps relevant also at this time was the growing importance of the General Assembly vis-a-vis the Security Council as small-power pressure groupings challenged the domination of the major powers.

The first of these groupings, the Committee on Information from Non-Self-Governing Territories (CINSGT), was formed in November 1947 as a result of General Assembly resolution 146(III), on a temporary basis. Nicholas (1961:136) noted that it paralleled the Trusteeship Council in its style of composition. It was intended to do for non-self-governing territories, without the benefit of direct Charter establishment, what the Trusteeship Council did for trust territories. Although Australia served on this committee, its attitude was reserved, as was that of the colonial powers generally. A series of resolutions (332(IV), 646(VII), 933(X), 1332(XII), 1700(XVI) and 1847(XVII)) continued CINSGT in operation until it was dissolved in 1963.

The Committee of Seventeen, in full the Special Committee on the Situation with Regard to the Implementation of the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples, was formed by General Assembly resolution 1654(XVI) on 27 November 1961 to give some organisational form to the supervision of the implementation of

resolution 1514(XV).¹ The Trusteeship Council and the CINSGT were directed to report to it. Seven members were added by resolution 1810(XVII) of 17 December 1962, and it became the Committee of Twenty-four. The Committee of Twenty-four became the institutional centre of the anti-colonial movement in the United Nations. Membership was by nomination of the President of the General Assembly. Australia was a foundation member.

United Nations procedures on colonial matters altered with these structural changes. In 1964, at the nineteenth session, the Committee of Twenty-four received reports on non-self-governing territories from both the Fourth Committee and the Trusteeship Council, and sent its report to the General Assembly.² The Committee of Twenty-four formed a number of sub-committees, and the second of these dealt with Cocos Islands, New Guinea, Nauru and Papua. Papua and New Guinea were considered together, a clear indication of the degree to which the distinction between non-self-governing and trust territories has been blurred.

One of the results of these organisational changes was to bring each territory more sharply under examination in the General Assembly. To 1965 General Assembly resolutions were omnibus ones; in that year New Guinea for the first time became the sole subject of a resolution (2112(XX)). This sharp examination was partly the result of the reduction in number of trust territories. Beginning with the French Cameroons on 1 January 1960, eight trust territories had achieved independence by 1966, and New Guinea was one of the three remaining. From New Guinea the Trusteeship Council received twenty-one annual reports and twenty-seven petitions by 1966. To New Guinea it sent six visiting missions (in 1950, 1953, 1956, 1959, 1962 and 1965)³ and from each mission it received a report.

¹ By resolution 1514(XV), known as the 'Declaration on the granting of independence to colonial countries and peoples', the General Assembly declared: 'Immediate steps shall be taken, in trust and non-self-governing territories or all other territories which have not yet attained independence, to transfer all powers to the peoples of those territories, without any conditions or reservations, in accordance with their freely expressed will and desire, without any distinction as to race, creed or colour, in order to enable them to enjoy complete independence and freedom.'

² It has not been possible from United Nations documents to determine the structural relationship between the Fourth Committee and the Committee of Twenty-four. Functionally they overlap. The Fourth Committee considered the question of Southern Rhodesia in October 1962, and the Committee of Twenty-four considered it during its session from March to June 1963.

³ A seventh mission visited New Guinea from February to April 1968, and submitted its report in May 1968.

The United Nations raised many issues concerning New Guinea with the Australian government, and as these issues formed the specific points on which the United Nations-Australia relationship regarding New Guinea hinged, Chapter 4 will examine them.

Chapter 4

Issues and petitions

Issues originated in different organs and arose from varying sources. Some were first mentioned by visiting missions, and some by the Trusteeship Council (for example, issue A/1, the general expansion of education). The Fourth Committee and the General Assembly also initiated issues, for example, the expansion of primary education (A/2) and adult education (A/8) respectively. Within the United Nations specific support for some issues was confined to the Trusteeship Council, for example, public health staff (A/15) and introduction of income tax (B/4). In other cases organs supported issues initiated by other organs. Issue A/5 (teacher training) was an example of an issue raised in the Trusteeship Council and supported in both the Fourth Committee and the General Assembly. Issue A/8 (expansion of adult education) exemplified Trusteeship Council support for an issue raised in the General Assembly. In the case of issue B/9 (alienation of New Guinean-owned land) the Fourth Committee sought to involve the Trusteeship Council by recommending that it study the issue. Issue C/1 (increase in tempo of political, economic, social and educational advancement) revealed General Assembly and Trusteeship Council support for the Fourth Committee. Issues have arisen from the on-the-spot investigations of visiting missions; from examination of visiting mission reports to the Trusteeship Council by that Council; from examination of annual reports by the trustee to the United Nations by the Trusteeship Council; or from examination by the Trusteeship Council of petitions to the United Nations. Those that originated in the Fourth Committee or the General Assembly arose through examination of documents referred to them by the Trusteeship Council or the Committee of Twenty-four.

Once a particular matter which had engaged the attention of any of the organs of the United Nations was communicated to the Australian government, and the Australian government had manifested a response to it - or Australia itself raised a matter in one of the organs of the United Nations or through its annual reports - for the purpose of this study an 'issue' had emerged. For the purpose of defining an issue, the nature of the response to it was irrelevant. Issue B/4 (introduction of income tax) was an example of an issue in which there was lengthy disagreement between the United Nations and Australia; on the other hand, issue A/5 (teacher training) exemplified issues in which there was formal agreement between both parties on the substance of the

issue. Also irrelevant in this context was the place of origin of the matter; in some cases this has been with the United Nations (issue B/4, introduction of income tax) and in others with Australia (issue A/21, advancement of women).

New Guinea annual reports are written for a period from 1 July to 30 June in the subsequent year. They are transmitted to the Secretary-General of the United Nations by May of the next year and examined by the Trusteeship Council any time from May or August in that year, during a session. For example, the New Guinea annual report for the period 1 July 1956 to 30 June 1957 was received by the Secretary-General during May 1958, and examined by the Trusteeship Council at its twenty-second session during July and August 1958. Thus a Trusteeship Council recommendation made in 1958 could arise from consideration of the 1956-57 report. Thus entries on the 'United Nations' side of an issue table,¹ if they have any direct reference to entries on the 'Australia' side, refer to entries earlier than themselves and not to any entry in the same year (on the same line).

As mentioned,² Trusteeship Council resolutions are reported to the General Assembly. They are examined on its behalf by the Fourth (Trusteeship) Committee, which also receives and examines (since 1961) reports from the Committee of Twenty-four. The Fourth Committee prepares draft resolutions for the General Assembly. Trusteeship Council resolutions usually refer specifically to the territory under discussion. On the other hand, both the Fourth Committee's draft resolutions and the General Assembly's resolutions incorporate matters from many trust territories, and usually have general application unless otherwise specified. Not all these resolutions are ratified by vote in the General Assembly, but those which are are formally transmitted by the Secretary-General to the delegation of the country concerned. Informally, of course, the delegation would have been aware of the issue embodied in the resolution from the commencement of discussion on it.

The eighty-seven issues are listed and tabulated as Appendices 1 to 4. They have been grouped into four sections: Social (A/1 to A/23), Economic (B/1 to B/28), Political-administrative (C/1 to C/29), and Constitutional (D/1 to D/7). The United Nations in its documents deals with issues under the headings General, Political, Economic, Social and Educational. The issue of self-government or independence (after its crystallisation by resolution 1514(XV))³ is dealt with in documents as a separate section, but it has been included here in the Constitutional section. On the other hand, it seemed useful to separate 'Constitutional' from 'Political-administrative' issues without thereby denying the close relationship between them.

¹ See Appendices 1 to 4.

² See p.17.

³ See p.20, footnote 1.

This classification did not obviate anomalies, and indeed it is doubtful if any classification would. An initial separation of issues concerning the legislature and the judiciary might seem appropriate, but changes in the legislature fit easily into a 'Constitutional' heading, and legislation fits into one or more of the other categories depending in each case on which issue or issues it concerns. As only inferior courts were the subject of an issue, a separate 'judiciary' category seemed unwarranted, and the issue was included, if a little uneasily, in the Political-administrative section.

Social issues¹

This section deals with matters of education, health, discrimination, civil rights, housing, position of women, and traditional art forms.

Concerning A/1, Australia declared its intention in 1947 of expanding education, and in 1948 the Trusteeship Council made its initial recommendation on this issue. The common interest of the two parties was demonstrated in 1961 when Australia wrote that it would 'continue to bear in mind the views of the Trusteeship Council in the development of its educational plans'.²

This early harmony of aims characterised A/2, primary education, also. The trusteeship agreements for New Guinea and Nauru were the only ones that excluded a specific obligation to expand primary education; but the record indicated a continuous expansion, with the Trusteeship Council commenting on the tempo of events.

A/3, secondary education, followed a different pattern. In 1952 the Trusteeship Council first urged expansion, and in 1953 Australia replied that its policy was to concentrate on primary education. The Trusteeship Council pressed the issue each year from 1955 on. It was not until 1956 that Australia specifically announced a policy of expansion of secondary education. If Australia had had plans in 1952 for an expansion in this field in 1956, an announcement of them then would have been consistent with its responses in other situations. The rising output of pupils from primary schools would have been predictable, as perhaps would have been the general expansion of employment opportunities for persons with secondary education. The record thus suggests a change of policy in 1956 brought about in part by United Nations pressures.

With A/4, apprenticeships and technical education, the earliest United Nations initiative found was in 1956, when the Trusteeship Council noted an expansion; in 1965 it recommended a further expansion. In fact, Australia modestly began such activities in 1947, and widened their scope in the mid-1950s. The record in this issue indicates that the initiative was with Australia.

¹ See Appendix 1.

² NGAR 1960-61:155.

In teacher training (A/5) Australia reported plans in 1947, with recommendations in 1948 for plans coming from the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly (ex the Fourth Committee) (resolution 225(III)). Commencing in 1962, the Trusteeship Council urged the recruitment of teachers through UNESCO, and in 1965 its recommendation seems to have covered UNESCO assistance in both recruitment and training; in that year Australia reported that it intended to seek UNESCO co-operation in the establishment of a teachers' college at Goroka. The record of this issue shows again a pattern of give-and-take. It is one of the only two issues between 1946 and 1966 in which Australia accepted offers of assistance from specialised agencies.¹

A/6, overseas study scholarships, was an instance of early pressure being noted by Australia, which then acted in its own time. The issue was first the subject of recommendations in 1948 by both the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly (resolution 225(III)). Implementation commenced in 1954 and continued.

The record in A/7, university foundation, revealed an initiative by Australia. In 1949 it reported an intention to provide when necessary for 'professional and vocational training in medicine, health and technical subjects'.² The issue remained dormant until 1961, when the Trusteeship Council acknowledged the various Australian moves which led to the establishment of a university in 1965.

Australia commenced work on mass literacy and adult education (A/8) in 1947, and reported its activities. A General Assembly invitation (resolution 330(IV)) in 1949 to seek UNESCO co-operation was ignored. Administration activities continued modestly, with encouragement from the Trusteeship Council. Operations increased from 1960, on a reorganised and more effective basis.

A/9 dealt with integration in schools, which became an issue in 1949 when it was the subject of two resolutions (324(IV) and 328(IV)) in the General Assembly. It then remained dormant until 1958 when the Trusteeship Council 'hoped' it would commence. Australia made no response

¹ The other involved the World Bank (issue B/1), see p.29. In 1968-69, however, a United Nations Development Programme transport survey was undertaken by a team of experts at the request of the Administration to determine transport needs and recommend expenditure and construction priorities. Other technical assistance from the specialised agencies since this bulletin was completed includes the provision of a science education and curriculum expert, science teaching equipment, a pottery expert, and experts in co-operatives, building materials, clothing and textile manufacture to advise and assist in development. Scholarships for Papuans and New Guineans have also been frequently awarded by the World Health Organisation.

² NGAR 1948-49:84.

until 1964, when it reported the commencement of integration. In that year also the Trusteeship Council recommended it.

Increased Administration participation in education vis-a-vis missions, A/10, followed the familiar pattern in which it was the subject of an early recommendation (in 1948) and its commencement the subject of early reporting (1948). Thereafter the years were marked by recommendations, expressions of hope for expansion and several commendations, on one side, and reports of progress on the other.¹

A/11 dealt with an increase in the number of school inspectors. The issue was raised by a UNESCO report in 1954, and supported by the Trusteeship Council in 1957; Australia responded in 1955, and thereafter periodically reported increases.

The appointment of local government councillors to the education advisory board, A/12, was suggested by the Trusteeship Council in 1957. Australia reported in the same year that it was considering the appointment of observers in training, and finally reported some appointments in 1965.

In 1949 the General Assembly recommended that the Trusteeship Council continue its efforts to arrange the inclusion of material on the United Nations in the curriculum of primary schools (A/13). Australia reported commencement in 1950, and continuation each year thereafter.

A/14, improvement of health services, revealed a pattern similar to A/1, with a cordial dialogue of recommendations and commendations from one side, and progress-reporting and assurances of co-operation from the other. For instance, in 1960 Australia asserted that it had paid close attention to earlier recommendations.

A/15 dealt with public health staff. In 1947 Australia reported it had commenced training medical orderlies. The Trusteeship Council in 1948 recommended that it continue, thereby taking the initiative. The record to 1966 revealed a pattern of demands and supports, with responses taking the form of reporting progress and intentions. Australia did not adopt a Trusteeship Council recommendation of 1962 that it use the specialised agencies to recruit staff.

A/16, the development of indigenous arts and culture, requires little comment. Australia reported that activities in this field had commenced in 1948; thereafter it annually reported continuation of them. The only comment by the Trusteeship Council was in 1951, when it hoped work would continue.

¹ In 1970 the Administration adopted and most missions accepted the report of a commission of enquiry into education (the Weedon Report) which recommended among other things, a unified teaching service in Papua-New Guinea.

A/17, the repeal of all discriminatory legislation, attracted early United Nations attention. From 1948 to 1953 the Trusteeship Council pressed it each year, with support in 1949 from a General Assembly resolution (323(IV)). The Trusteeship Council pursued the issue intermittently from 1959 to 1966. Australia's response was guarded. It acknowledged in 1948 the existence of some protective measures, and reported commencement of a review of legislation in 1949. Its assertion in 1950 that 'all elements of the population are secure in the enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms, without discrimination as to race, sex, language or religion'¹ did not prevent it from later making many changes in laws, and indeed making acts of discrimination a criminal offence. The United Nations implicitly supported discrimination in favour of New Guineans in its attitude towards land alienation procedures, and explicitly when arguing for preference for New Guineans in the granting of land leases.² But in 1965 Australia asserted that removal of discrimination was policy.³ Thus the United Nations initiative met with a formal response sixteen years after it was introduced.

Not so with A/18, the abolition of corporal punishment. This was most persistently sought each year from 1949 to 1958 by the Trusteeship Council, with support from the General Assembly in 1949 and 1950 (resolutions 323(IV) and 440(V) respectively). Australia claimed that corporal punishment was used very rarely, but argued the necessity to keep it. Australia reported statutory amendments in 1951 to restrict the use of corporal punishment, but by 1966 had still not abolished it. The United Nations has not raised the issue since 1958.

A/19, the liberalisation of curfew laws, was an issue on which Australia was able to take the action sought by the United Nations. In response to a request from the Trusteeship Council in 1949 to remove the curfew on New Guineans in town, Australia reported the beginning of a review of the legislation. The curfew was progressively removed in three stages, in 1954, 1956 and 1959. The last two stages were accompanied by Trusteeship Council recommendations and hopes in 1956, 1957 and 1958.

The provision of urban housing, A/20, was an issue in which the initiative was with Australia. It reported efforts in this field with materials experimentation from 1953 on, and it was not until 1966 that the Trusteeship Council participated by recommending increased efforts and 'noting' the work done.

The issue of advancement of women, A/21, was one in which Australia's early efforts - commencing with a reported intention in 1947 to give it

¹ NGAR 1948-49:57.

² Trusteeship Council Report, 1960-61, A/4818, p.51.

³ NGAR 1964-65:129.

special attention - eventually attracted Trusteeship Council action in 1960 with a recommendation that some seats on local government councils be reserved for women. Australia rejected this because it was considered likely to reduce seriously the efficiency of council operations. In the same year the Trusteeship Council commended the work done. Thereafter Australia continued to report progress annually.

The establishment of corrective institutions, A/22, revealed a sequence of actions by the United Nations and Australia similar to A/21. In 1957 Australia reported that it intended to convert Papua-New Guinea's prison service to a corrective institutions service. This was welcomed in 1958 by the Trusteeship Council. In 1959 Australia reported its commencement, and this was noted by the Trusteeship Council in 1960. An orderly sequence!

A similar pattern was revealed in the record of A/23 dealing with juvenile parole. Australia reported in 1957 its intention to start such a service, and this was welcomed by the Trusteeship Council in 1958. It was duly commenced in 1962, and reported.

Summary. To assess the degree of achievement, the issues were classified as either continuing or finite. Expansion of teacher training (A/5) was an example of the former. It was a process with stages and, while stages could be and were completed, the process was an on-going one which could be expected to make continuous demands on the resources of the Administration. An example of a finite issue was the liberalisation of curfew laws (A/19). While it was done in stages, provision for curfew was ultimately removed from the statute books and there was thus an identifiable time by 1966 at which the aim in the issue was achieved.

Of the 23 social issues, 10 were initiated by Australia and 13 by the United Nations. Among the latter (57 per cent), 5 were finite and 8 continuing. Of the finite issues, 2 - integration in schools (A/9) and abolition of corporal punishment (A/18) - were incomplete, and 3 - appointment of local government councillors to education advisory board (A/12), repeal of all discriminatory legislation (A/17), and liberalisation of curfew laws (A/19) - were completed after 8, 16 and 10 years' delay, respectively. The 8 continuing issues - general expansion of education (A/1), expansion of primary education (A/2), expansion of secondary education (A/3), overseas study scholarships (A/6), increased Administration participation in education vis-a-vis missions (A/10), increase in number of school inspectors (A/11), inclusion of United Nations material in primary school curriculum (A/13), and improvement in health services (A/14) - were all the subject of responses by Australia. The responses appeared one year after the demand was made in all but 2 cases: A/3 and A/6 brought results after 4 and 6 years respectively. In both cases the demands were initially described by Australia as premature. Australia received encouragement from the United Nations in all 8 issues.

Of the 10 issues initiated by Australia (43 per cent), 3 were finite and 7 were continuing. The 3 finite issues - university foundation (A/7), establishment of corrective institutions (A/22), and juvenile parole (A/23) - were all completed. The 7 continuing issues - apprenticeships and technical education (A/4), teacher training (A/5), expansion of adult education (A/8), public health staff (A/15), development of indigenous arts and culture (A/16), provision of urban housing (A/20), and advancement of women (A/21) - were all the subject of reported progress by Australia, and all except 1 (A/16) were supported by commendations, etc., from the Trusteeship Council. Australia's initiatives thus do not seem to have arisen from a desire to be able to claim credit for raising an issue. The facts suggest that neither the United Nations nor Australia gave continuing preferential treatment to issues it had initiated.

Economic issues¹

This section deals with planning, finance, roads, land, agriculture, fishing, industry, co-operatives and employment. It contains twenty-eight issues.

B/1 dealt with an overall economic survey and plan. In 1949 Australia reported that surveying and planning had commenced, and it continued to report progress and further intentions from year to year. United Nations pressures commenced with a General Assembly resolution (561(VI)) in 1951 and the Trusteeship Council made recommendations almost annually thereafter. This culminated in the carrying out of an economic survey by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development in 1962, and the adoption of its report in 1966. Australia acknowledged Trusteeship Council influence, announced plans and accepted the report's proposals as a working basis, and the Trusteeship Council welcomed this acceptance. This was the second of two instances of Australia using the services of the specialised agencies.²

Issue B/2 was the increased participation of New Guineans in economic development. In 1948 Australia announced this as policy, and reported a commencement. In 1949 both the General Assembly (resolution 322(IV)) and the Trusteeship Council recommended it. Thereafter the record indicated periodic mild demands phrased as 'recommendations' or 'hopes' and supports phrased as 'commendations' from the United Nations, and regular reports of expansion from Australia. A General Assembly resolution of 1950 (439(V)) recommending the use of Economic and Social Council facilities was not adopted. Australia stated firmly in 1952 that 'It is an integral part of the policy for the development of New

¹ See Appendix 2.

² See p.25 for the first instance, UNESCO assistance in the establishment of Goroka teachers' college.

Guinea that the natives themselves are encouraged and assisted to take an ever increasing part in the development of the Territory'.¹

Issue B/3, increase in Papua-New Guinea's revenue, was recommended by the Trusteeship Council in 1948. Australia reported an increased grant each year, and these increases were regularly commended. From 1959 on the Trusteeship Council recommended that Australia seek United Nations assistance, but this was not done. The annual Australian grant represented only part of development aid made to Papua-New Guinea, as other Commonwealth government organs in the country used their own funds. Other aspects of revenue increases depend on other issues, for example, B/4 directly, and indirectly on all those issues relevant to increasing production in New Guinea.

The introduction of income tax (B/4) was an issue raised by the Trusteeship Council. In 1948 it recommended it and continued to raise the issue periodically until 1959, when Australia reported its introduction. In 1960 this was noted by the Trusteeship Council with satisfaction. In 1961 it went on to express the view that the rate was too low. Income tax was not introduced until twelve years after its recommendation. There were rumours of its introduction in 1950,² and Hasluck said in 1959, at the time the bill was introduced to the Legislative Council, 'Whether there are to be taxes of some kind was decided many years ago'.³ The evidence suggests that Australia made an early decision to introduce income tax but did not disclose its intentions until it considered a suitable time had been reached. The groups opposing income tax tested the validity of the legislation as far as the High Court of Australia,⁴ and this delayed its introduction for two years.

B/5, abolition of native head tax, was a small issue. In 1948 Australia reported that the tax had not been collected since 1945 and the Trusteeship Council thereupon recommended its abolition. In 1949 Australia took the next step by reporting that abolition was under consideration. Thereafter the issue seems to have been ignored by both the United Nations and Australia. No reference to the repeal of the enabling ordinance was found.

B/6, an increase in the royalty on gold, was an instance of an issue raised by the United Nations being rejected by Australia. In 1949 the Trusteeship Council recommended an increase in the royalty levied, and continued to do so until 1952. In 1951, Australia reported that the issue had been included in a general financial review, but the royalty was not increased.

¹ NGAR 1951-52:115.

² Pacific Islands Monthly, vol.20, no.10, p.9.

³ South Pacific Post, 17 March 1959, p.3.

⁴ Fishwick v Cleland and ors. (106, C.L.R., 1969, 186).

B/7 dealt with the improvement and development of the road system. This became an issue in 1950 when Australia reported the mileage of roads in existence. In 1951 the Trusteeship Council urged an expansion of the road system. Thereafter Australia reported progress each year, and the Trusteeship Council intermittently pressed the issue. Several commendations were made.

Australia reported in 1950 that it was planning the provision of credit facilities for New Guineans for economic development (B/8). In 1952 the Trusteeship Council recommended the establishment of more facilities. Three years later the Native Loans Fund Ordinance came into force. There were further expressions of hope from the Trusteeship Council in 1957 and 1958, and further schemes were commenced, including one for ex-servicemen. On 6 July 1967 the Development Bank of Papua and New Guinea was opened, one of its functions being to grant loans to Papuans and New Guineans.

The alienation of land owned by New Guineans, B/9, was an issue in which the Trusteeship Council in 1948 felt that caution was needed. Australia's response, in 1948, was to assert that caution characterised its existing policy as embodied in statutes. It periodically repeated this assertion. The Trusteeship Council continued to urge or recommend caution. Australia failed to take up General Assembly recommendations in 1951 and 1957 (resolutions 561(VI) and 1208(XII)) for a study of the subject to be undertaken jointly by the Trusteeship Council and the Food and Agriculture Organisation.

B/10, the commencement of a native land commission, was a simple issue. In 1951 Australia reported the commencement of the enabling statute, and in 1952 the appointment of a chief commissioner. In 1952 also, and again in 1953, the Trusteeship Council recommended the commencement of operations.

B/11, land tenure conversion, was initiated by the General Assembly in 1950 with a recommendation that the Trusteeship Council study the matter; this recommendation was repeated in 1957. In 1958 Australia reported that a policy of tenure conversion had been adopted as one part of its approach to modernisation of land use, the other part being resettlement. In 1964 the Australian representative in the Committee of Twenty-four said, 'In accordance with the recommendations of the United Nations, the Australian government has been devoting particular attention to land tenure'.¹

B/12, land development board membership, was another instance of an unsuccessful United Nations initiative. In 1960 and 1961 the Trusteeship Council wrote that it considered important the appointment to the board of some New Guineans. Australia reported that it was being kept in

¹ General Assembly Official Records (hereafter referred to as GAOR), Session 19, Annexe 1, p.404.

mind (in 1960), and that it was under examination (in 1961). But in 1965 it reported that no appointments had been made.

B/13, resettlement, was recommended by the Trusteeship Council in 1959, and after some investigations, Australia in 1962 announced a plan to establish 7,500 farms for New Guineans. Thereafter each year progress was reported. In 1961 the Trusteeship Council expressed concern with the continued leasing of land to expatriates.¹

B/14, participation of New Guineans in market agriculture, was another of the issues in which both the Trusteeship Council and Australia showed early interest. In 1947 Australia reported that an expansion of the participation of New Guineans in cash cropping was policy; one year later the Trusteeship Council recommended it. The record of the issue thereafter followed the pattern of periodic moderate demands and commendations on one side, and annual reporting of progress on the other.

The training of New Guineans in agriculture, B/15, was an issue in which Australia took the initiative. In 1950 it reported the commencement of training, and it was not until 1956 that the Trusteeship Council 'hoped' that there would be an expansion. 'Hopes' and 'urges' continued, and commendations provided support in 1958 and 1959. In 1959 a plan was announced to double the number of indigenous officers in the Department of Agriculture in ten years (Walker 1964:15).

One of the lesser issues was B/16, the repeal of compulsory crop planting legislation. In 1948 Australia reported that the provisions had been little used since 1942. In 1950 the Trusteeship Council recommended repeal of the relevant acts. The issue did not reappear in the record, but no reference was found to the repeal of the relevant statute.

B/17 dealt with coffee and cocoa stabilisation funds. Although a copra stabilisation fund was in existence from 1946 on, this issue was not raised until 1960, when the commencement of such funds was recommended by the Trusteeship Council. The recommendation was repeated in 1961. Australia declined to act on the grounds that international commodity agreements were better, and growers' agreement was a necessary prerequisite. The Trusteeship Council did not raise this issue again.

B/18 was the development of a fishing industry. In 1949 the Trusteeship Council noted Australia's report of a commencement in 1948. Annual reports of progress continued, with further demands for progress from the Trusteeship Council in 1960 and 1961.

The encouragement of resource utilisation through industry, B/19, was initiated by a Trusteeship Council recommendation in 1950. In 1953

¹ See Issue A/17, p.27.

Australia asserted that the encouragement of secondary industry was policy, and in 1965 reported the commencement of an ordinance to encourage industrial development.

The training of New Guineans in industrial management, B/20, was initiated in 1948 by an Australian report that commercial instruction had commenced as a subject in the secondary school curriculum. In 1952 the Trusteeship Council recommended a commencement of training, and in the same year residential co-operative training commenced. A record of annual reporting of progress, with a polite demand for expansion in 1958, followed.

B/21, the nationality of company shareholders, was raised by the Trusteeship Council in 1951, when it sought information on an existing legislative requirement that at least two-thirds of the shareholders of a company registered in Papua-New Guinea had to be British subjects. This provision was seen as being in breach of the Charter (Article 76d). In 1954 Australia reported that an examination was proceeding. No further record of the issue was found.

B/22, the development of co-operative enterprises, was initiated by Australia in 1948 when it reported that an expansion had commenced. In 1949 the Trusteeship Council commended what had been done, and hoped for a further expansion; in 1949 also Australia reported that expansion was its policy. Expansion was reported each year thereafter, and the Trusteeship Council made several commendations and, in 1952, 1953 and 1956, further demands for continued expansion.

B/23 dealt with the encouragement of collective bargaining and trade unions. The demand/response pattern here was similar to B/4. The Trusteeship Council recommended collective bargaining in 1948 and trade union formation in 1949 and 1951. In 1949 Australia reported that it was under consideration, and denied a policy of discouragement. Twelve years later, in 1961, it announced a policy of trade union formation, and thereafter regularly reported the formation of unions. This 1961 announcement occurred in the same year as another demand from the Trusteeship Council for expansion.

B/24 was the abolition of indenture of labour. In 1944 Australia announced its intention to abolish indenture.¹ In 1947 it reported reduction of the period to one year, and a commitment to abolish it completely in five years. The Trusteeship Council noted this in 1948, and recommended abolition in 1949. Indenture was duly abolished on 30 December 1950, and replaced by a system of agreements.

The application of international labour conventions, B/25, was urged by the Trusteeship Council in 1950 and 1951, after Australia had reported the operation of these in 1948. Although the United Nations did not

¹ See p.3.

raise the issue again, in 1956 Australia reported the application of one more convention, and the operation of a total of thirteen in 1965.

B/26, increase in wages for New Guineans, was an early issue. In 1947, Australia reported an increase in minimum rates to fifteen shillings per month. The Trusteeship Council noted this, and in 1948 recommended a further increase. The General Assembly added its recommendation in 1949 (resolution 322(IV)). A further increase to twenty-five shillings was reported in 1956, the year of another Trusteeship Council recommendation. Further demands were made, and in 1962 another increase to thirty shillings was reported. Resulting in part from the formation of trade unions (B/23), negotiated wage agreements were reported in 1961 as becoming a standard procedure.

Issue B/27, equal pay for equal work, was raised by the Trusteeship Council in 1948 as a recommendation, which was reported in 1949. Australia replied that it prescribed only minimum rates. In subsequent years it continued to assert that the different rates in force were based on skill and not on race. The introduction of differing scales of salaries in the public service for local and overseas officers departed in part from this principle, as equal qualifications did not carry equal salaries.

The final issue in this section was B/28, cost-of-living surveys. These were recommended by the Trusteeship Council in 1948, 1949, 1950 and 1951. In 1949 Australia reported that it was planning these, but it was not until 1964 that it reported the completion of a survey. From 1951 to 1964 the record indicated that the Trusteeship Council allowed the issue to remain dormant.

Summary. An analysis of the economic issues shows that of the 28, 16 were initiated by the United Nations (57 per cent) and 12 by Australia (43 per cent). Dealing first with the United Nations group, 10 of these were finite issues - introduction of income tax (B/4), abolition of native head tax (B/5), increase in royalty on gold (B/6), land development board membership (B/12), the repeal of compulsory crop planting legislation (B/16), coffee and cocoa stabilisation funds (B/17), nationality of company shareholders (B/21), application of international labour conventions (B/25), equal pay for equal work (B/27), and cost-of-living surveys (B/28). Of these 10, only 3 - B/4, B/25 and B/28 - were completed by 1966, and action on these was deferred by Australia for lengthy periods.¹ The remaining 6 United Nations initiatives were on

¹ It was impossible to decide from the record what the (1966) position was in issues such as B/5 (abolition of native head tax), B/16 (repeal of compulsory crop planting legislation) and B/21 (nationality of company shareholders). It seemed reasonable to assume that Australia would have reported compliance if it had been completed, and in the absence of such reports, the issue was classified as incomplete. B/27 (equal pay for equal work) can be regarded as rejected by Australia as irrelevant.

continuing issues - increase in Papua-New Guinea's revenue (B/3), alienation of New Guinean-owned land (B/9), land tenure conversion (B/11), resettlement (B/13), encouragement of resource utilisation through industry (B/19), and encouragement of collective bargaining and trade unions (B/23). As can be seen, most of these dealt with the important issues of land and revenue. Immediate progress was recorded on only one (B/3), progress was deferred on four of them (B/11, B/13, B/19 and B/23), and on B/9 Australia insisted that no action was necessary.

Only 1 of the 12 Australian initiatives was concerned with a finite issue - the abolition of indenture of labour (B/24) - which was completed. The 11 continuing issues were: over-all economic survey and plan (B/1), increased participation of New Guineans in economic development (B/2), improvement and development of the road system (B/7), provision of credit facilities for New Guineans for economic development (B/8), the commencement of a native land commission (B/10), participation of New Guineans in market agriculture (B/14), the training of New Guineans in agriculture (B/15), development of a fishing industry (B/18), training of New Guineans in industrial management (B/20), development of co-operative enterprises (B/22), and increase in wages for New Guineans (B/26). That immediate progress was reported for all of them is evidence that their initiation by Australia was not simply to forestall United Nations criticism; that the United Nations was not always satisfied with the tempo of progress does not invalidate this. The evidence of completion of finite issues and of progress in continuing issues indicates that Australia produced results more quickly in issues that it originated through its own procedures than in ones it had not originated.

Political-administrative issues¹

The twenty-nine issues in this section covered a wide range of issues including general planning, suffrage, local government, dissemination of United Nations information, the public service, and inferior courts. A number of minor miscellaneous issues were also included. As in other sections, some issues were comprehensive in scope, for example, C/1 (increase in tempo of political, economic, social and educational advancement) and others were specific, for example, C/8 (nomination of New Guineans to statutory boards). The comprehensive ones raised difficulties for orderly and logical presentation of the material.

C/1, increase in the tempo of political, economic, social and educational advancement, commenced in 1948 with a General Assembly resolution (226(III)) recommending greater speed. In 1949 its resolution 321(IV)

¹ See Appendix 3.

required visiting missions to report fully.¹ The Trusteeship Council made its first demand in 1950, others in 1951 and 1956, and annually from 1960 on. In both 1960 and 1961 assistance from the specialised agencies was recommended, but not sought. Australia's actions in this issue were not tabulated in Appendix 3 but appear in the various specific issues that comprise this one. They include general expansion of education (A/1), improvement of health services (A/14), the repeal of all discriminatory legislation (A/17), increased participation of New Guineans in economic development (B/2), participation of New Guineans in market agriculture (B/14), training of New Guineans in industrial management (B/20), increase in wages for New Guineans (B/26), political advancement of New Guineans (C/3), universal suffrage (C/6), increase of New Guinean participation in the public service (C/21), and increase in the number of New Guineans in the legislature (D/2).

C/2, a general co-ordinated long-range plan, contrasts with B/1 which was concerned only with economics. Australia reported commencement of planning in 1947, and continued to report surveys by various bodies, and the formation of ad hoc planning committees. The Trusteeship Council recommended preparation of a plan in 1948 and 1949. In 1950 the General Assembly joined in with resolution 437(V), which sought plans for education. Further moderate demands followed in 1953, 1957 and 1959. Target dates for long-range planning were first mentioned in 1957.

The General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council seemed to have wished for a comprehensive long-term national plan of the type adopted by many developing countries, whereas Australia relied on general statements of aims given form by loose, ad hoc, short-range plans. Nevertheless, an acceptance of the need for planning of some sort was accepted by Australia. Planning was particularly difficult in a trust territory where the administering authority was trying to prevent international supervision, for planning, which implies targets and dates for reaching them, makes international supervision and criticism an easy matter when these are not met. Paradoxically then, pressures towards planning and target dates lead to less planning.

A Trusteeship Council recommendation in 1948 initiated issue C/3, the political advancement of New Guineans. In 1949 Australia asserted that newly formed local government councils were the first step. It continued to assert this each year. From time to time the Trusteeship Council recommended various points in this issue, including, in 1960 for the first time, the encouragement of political organisations.

¹ This resolution, being directed to another organ of the United Nations, was not a demand in the sense that a resolution directed to administering authorities was; but it could be seen as an indirect demand because it was publicly concerned with the collection of information to provide for future action.

While Australia created a Westminster political system in Papua-New Guinea, of which political parties are an essential element, parties had not been specifically encouraged.

C/4, participation of New Guineans in United Nations proceedings, was demanded more by the General Assembly than by the Trusteeship Council. In 1949 resolution 554(IV) invited Australia to consider the issue. There was a lengthy struggle between the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council over this resolution and its implementation. In 1952 both the General Assembly (resolution 653(VII)) and the Trusteeship Council sought the inclusion of New Guineans in the Australian delegation. Australia replied that this was not policy. In 1953 the General Assembly passed resolution 746(VIII) which requested the Secretary-General to arrange the inclusion of some New Guineans. In 1954 resolution 853(IX) recommended that the Trusteeship Council instruct all visiting missions to initiate discussions with the public during visits. Then in 1961 Australia reported that New Guineans were being included in Australian delegations to the United Nations. This was an interesting issue because it revealed the General Assembly seeking the same end by several closely related means, and then apparently dropping it (at least in the formal documents) when no response was achieved. No formal acknowledgment of Australia's eventual compliance was found in the Trusteeship Council reports.

C/5, extension of territorial control, was formally initiated as an issue by the Trusteeship Council in 1949, although Australian policy since the adoption of the Mandate in 1921 was to bring as many peoples under administration as its resources would allow. This task had been resumed in 1946, although it was not reported. However, in 1949 Australia reported 35,318 square miles of its territory as un-administered. Progress was reported each year and by 1965 only 967 square miles remained outside administration. The Trusteeship Council made periodic recommendations and other forms of demand, and six commendations.

Universal suffrage, C/6, was recommended by the Trusteeship Council in 1950, two years after Australia had reported that it was unnecessary, as Papua-New Guinea did not yet have a legislature. The first one was about to be formed and the recommendation was repeated in 1951. The General Assembly, perhaps with some impatience by 1953, requested the Trusteeship Council to report on the position (resolution 752(VIII)). Two more recommendations were made before Australia reported its arrangement for 'unenrolled electors' for the elections to the 1961 Legislative Council. In 1960 the Minister for Territories announced that a common roll for adults was policy (Hasluck 1960:3), and in 1961 the Trusteeship Council 'hoped' this would be done for the next election. A common roll with compulsory registration followed for the 1964 elections to the House of Assembly.

C/7, the legalising of traditional courts, was made the subject of a recommendation by the Trusteeship Council in 1949. In that year Australia

reported that it was policy, and that enabling legislation was in draft. This was noted with satisfaction in 1950; the issue was then urged in 1951 and 1952. Australia temporised until 1956, when it was reported that the aim of the issue was not policy. Thereafter the Trusteeship Council made several practical suggestions. In 1959 a government enquiry into the judicial system was arranged, and it was carried out in 1960. A number of changes followed the report, but these did not include the legalising of traditional courts.

C/8, the nomination of New Guineans to statutory boards, was recommended by the Trusteeship Council in 1960. In that year also Australia reported that it planned an appointment, and in 1961 this was reported, and welcomed by the Trusteeship Council.

C/9, the appointment of New Guineans to district and town advisory councils, was initiated as an issue with a recommendation by the Trusteeship Council in 1952. In that year Australia answered that it was not policy, but in 1953 it stated that it would be so when 'conditions were appropriate'. In 1953 also the Trusteeship Council again recommended appointments. Following a further recommendation in 1956, Australia reported that the aim of the issue was now policy. Thereafter the Trusteeship Council hoped for and urged more appointments, which Australia continued to report. In 1962 Australia reported that the matter of New Guinean majorities on district advisory councils was under review. In 1964 it reported that majorities had been appointed.

The granting of greater initiative to district and town advisory councils, C/10, was the aim of a recommendation in 1948 by the Trusteeship Council that their proposed constitutions be reviewed. The formation of the councils was reported in 1951 and 1952. A Trusteeship Council recommendation in 1962 for a start in municipal government was repeated in 1964 and 1965. In 1965 Australia reported the commencement of municipal government, with the inclusion of Goroka in a hitherto rural council.

C/11, the transference of New Guineans from a tribal system to modern democratic local government, a sweeping concept, was initiated by the Trusteeship Council as a recommendation in 1949, and raised again in 1950. Australia reported the commencement of the Native Village Councils Ordinance in 1949, and this can be seen as a first step. The further development of this subject is outlined in C/12 and C/13.

Increase in the number of local government councils, C/12, became an issue when it was urged in 1950 by the Trusteeship Council, although the passing of the enabling ordinance in 1949 can be fairly taken as an honest indication of Australia's intentions, particularly as a new section, the function of which was to form councils, was added to the Department of District Services. In 1952 Australia reported that its policy was to establish councils throughout the country. The exchange of annual reports of progress and regular recommendations for further expansion continued. Supports were regularly offered and accepted.

C/13, increased responsibility for local government councils, was initiated by an expression of hope by the Trusteeship Council in 1948. Similar demands were made in 1949 and 1950. Australia reported the introduction of inter-council conferences in 1959, and in 1963 the inclusion of all persons, irrespective of race, in council activities.

The granting of central government funds to local government councils, C/14, was reported by Australia as commencing in 1961. In 1962 the Trusteeship Council recommended it, and in 1963 it suggested an expansion. Australia annually reported continuation of the scheme.

C/15, the fostering of community development projects, was reported in 1952 by Australia. In 1953 the Trusteeship Council recommended the use of the specialised agencies. This received a guarded undertaking by Australia in the same year to seek help if necessary. In 1964 the function of community development was given to the Department of District Administration.

C/16, introduction of a civil register, was a simple issue. In 1949 Australia reported that none had been prepared. In 1950 and 1951 the Trusteeship Council recommended that this be done. The issue did not appear in the record again.

C/17, the use of Melanesian Pidgin, contained some revealing elements. In 1949 the General Assembly (resolution 329(IV)) recommended the use of indigenous languages for instruction. In 1950 Australia reported that it considered Pidgin unsuitable as a medium of instruction in schools, but that it was using it in broadcasts. In 1953 the Trusteeship Council recommended 'that the Administration urgently develop plans to eliminate it [Pidgin] completely from the Territory'.¹ In 1956 the Trusteeship Council again 'hoped' for plans for its elimination. In 1962 Australia reported that the Declaration of Human Rights had been published in Pidgin. Thus, over a period of eight years, Pidgin, from being the object of an elimination campaign by the United Nations, was being used in the publication of one of its most significant texts.

C/18, the establishment of a United Nations information centre, was raised by the Trusteeship Council in 1957. Each of the next few years saw a General Assembly resolution recommending the aim of the issue. The last was in 1961, the same year as Australia's report that it was now policy. The centre was opened on 24 April 1962 in Port Moresby, capital of but outside the trust territory.

The dissemination of United Nations information, C/19, was initiated in 1948 with requests from both the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council that Australia supply the Secretary-General with addresses for material. The matter was raised again in 1951 and 1953 by the General

¹ United Nations Document A/2927, p.109.

Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. In 1953 Australia reported that the dissemination of information had commenced, and reported continuation each year thereafter. Periodic demands were made by both the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council.

C/20, the use of the United Nations flag, was the subject of a lengthy difference between the General Assembly (particularly the Fourth Committee) and the Trusteeship Council. In 1949, General Assembly resolution 325(IV) requested the Trusteeship Council to pursue the matter with the administering authorities. Australia opposed the resolution. In 1950 the Trusteeship Council recommended that the flag be flown as appropriate. In the same year Australia reported an agreement to this. The General Assembly's original purpose, however, of making the United Nations flag superior, was not achieved. This was a good example of the way the Trusteeship Council was able to modify some of the General Assembly policies that would have caused friction.

The increase of New Guinean participation in the public service, C/21, was one of the issues most persistently pressed by the United Nations. In 1948, 1950, 1951 and 1952 it was recommended by the Trusteeship Council; in 1949 the use of United Nations training facilities was also recommended by the Fourth Committee; and in 1951 the General Assembly recommended this (resolution 557(VI)), perhaps because there had been no response to the 1949 Trusteeship Council recommendation. Specific training schemes were not reported until 1953 (overseas secondary study scholarships) and 1954 (the establishment of the public service institute). Annual demands from both the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council continued, as Australia reported a number of points including, in 1964, an 'integrated' public service and the introduction of contract engagement for all expatriates in the public service. Many of the moves made by Australia were commended.

C/22, the expansion of the public service, appeared as an issue in 1948 when the Trusteeship Council 'hoped' for it. This hope was repeated in 1950, and recommendations were made from 1959 to 1963. Each year Australia reported increases, some as a result of recruitment, and others from the inclusion of new categories of positions.

Improvement of public service conditions, C/23, was the subject of an expression of hope by the Trusteeship Council in 1951. Australia reported salary increases in 1949 and 1951, and the commencement of ordinances for arbitration and superannuation in 1952. The United Nations made no further demands in this issue, but salaries continued to increase. The quantity and quality of houses improved each year. Leave provisions remain on the pre-1942 basis.

C/24, the establishment of a public service commission, was recommended by the Trusteeship Council in 1961, with the request that its membership be partly New Guinean. Australia did not take up the issue. However, in 1965, a private member's bill to establish a public service commission was introduced into the House of Assembly, and although the

recommendation made by the Trusteeship Council was not given as the reason for its introduction, the recommendation was mentioned as a supporting reason.¹ The bill was disallowed by the Governor-General in Council in 1966, and thus a commission had not been formed by the end of the study.²

C/25, the formation of a department of trade and industry, was a brief issue. In 1960, the Trusteeship Council recommended the formation of such a department, and in the same year Australia reported that it was planning one. In 1961 its establishment was reported, and welcomed.

The pattern was generally similar in the case of the department of labour, C/26. One was established in 1946, but abolished in 1951 and its functions transferred to other departments. There was no response from the United Nations to this change. The department was re-established in 1961 and welcomed in the same year by the Trusteeship Council.

C/27, the suitability of the name of the department of native affairs, became an issue in 1956, when the Trusteeship Council recommended that it be changed to something which would more accurately reflect its functions. In 1954 Australia, as part of a reorganisation, had changed it from 'district services and native affairs' to simply 'native affairs'. In 1964 the name was changed to 'district administration'. The gap of eight years, the neglect of the issue in the interim by the Trusteeship Council, and the adoption of the new name during a reorganisation, all suggest that the Trusteeship Council recommendation was not very influential in the decision to introduce the new name.

In 1953 the Trusteeship Council recommended the delegation of more authority to district commissioners, issue C/28. Australia replied that it would examine the matter, but commented that district commissioners already held substantial authority. In 1959 similar recommendations and replies were made. Australia's reply was politely welcomed, and the issue thereafter did not appear in the record.

The final issue, C/29, was the recruitment of mature patrol officers for peaceful penetration (see issue C/5). The Trusteeship Council recommended in 1949 that this be done; Australia replied that it had tried.

Summary. Of the 29 political-administrative issues, 6 (21 per cent) were initiated by Australia and 23 (79 per cent) by the United Nations.

¹ House of Assembly Debates (hereafter referred to as HAD), 1:4:558.

² However, in April 1969 a four-member public service board which included one Papuan and one New Guinean member was sworn in. One of its main aims was to accelerate indigenisation in the public service, as well as to streamline administrative procedures and extend training facilities.

Dealing first with the issues initiated by the United Nations, 14 were finite and 9 continuing. Of the 14 finite issues, 6 - extension of territorial control (C/5), legalising of traditional courts (C/7), introduction of a civil register (C/16), use of Melanesian Pidgin (C/17), establishment of a public service commission (C/24), and delegation of more authority to district commissioners (C/28) - were not completed by Australia. Eight were completed, and of these, 3 - nomination of New Guineans to statutory boards (C/8), the use of the United Nations flag (C/20), and formation of a department of trade and industry (C/25) - were given immediate attention. The remainder - participation of New Guineans in United Nations proceedings (C/4), universal suffrage (C/6), appointment of New Guineans to district and town advisory councils (C/9), establishment of a United Nations information centre (C/18), and the suitability of the name of the department of native affairs (C/27) - were attended to after 12, 14, 5, 5 and 8 years respectively.

On the 9 continuing issues, 7 - increase in tempo of political, economic, social and educational advancement (C/1), political advancement of New Guineans (C/3), transference of New Guineans from a tribal system to modern democratic local government (C/11), increased responsibility for local government councils (C/13), increase of New Guinean participation in the public service (C/21), expansion of the public service (C/22), and recruitment of mature patrol officers for peaceful penetration (C/29) - received immediate attention. The other 2 received attention after some delay: 17 years for granting of greater initiative to district and town advisory councils (C/10),¹ and 5 years for dissemination of United Nations information (C/19). In the case of 6 issues, 5 finite and 1 continuing - legalising of traditional courts (C/7), introduction of a civil register (C/16), use of Melanesian Pidgin (C/17), establishment of a public service commission (C/24), delegation of more authority to district commissioners (C/28), and recruitment of mature patrol officers for peaceful penetration (C/29) - little progress was recorded.

Australia initiated 4 continuing issues - increase in number of local government councils (C/12), granting of central government funds to local government councils (C/14), fostering of community development projects (C/15), and improvement of public service conditions (C/23) - by reports of progress in those particular fields. Of the finite issues started by Australia, one - general co-ordinated long-range plan (C/2) -

¹ This issue was difficult to fit into this scheme, and the beginning of representative town government was taken as the point at which 'greater initiative' had been achieved.

remained incomplete,¹ and the other - formation of a department of labour (C/26) - was completed by 1966.

Constitutional issues²

This section includes issues involving the administrative union, the legislature, the executive, nationality and self-determination.

D/1 dealt with the maintenance of trust territory identity within the administrative union. It became an issue in 1948 when it was the subject of resolutions in both the General Assembly (resolution 224(III)) and the Trusteeship Council. The General Assembly resolution recommended that the Trusteeship Council investigate the matter and report thereon. This recommendation was repeated each year from 1949 to 1952 (resolutions 326(IV), 443(V), 563(VI) and 649(VII)). The resolution of 1949 also included a recommendation that Australia declare that Article 76 of the Charter³ applied to Papua. This spate of resolutions indicated the suspicion of the anti-colonial powers that administrative unions were techniques to facilitate annexation. Australia defended its position vigorously, and the trusteeship agreement remained unchanged. The pressure then eased, and the change was perhaps related to the growing recognition of a situation described in the report of the 1953 visiting mission: 'It had no information which might indicate that this administrative union was at this stage of development not in the interests of the inhabitants.'⁴ Such comments were endorsed by the Trusteeship Council. In 1961 the Trusteeship Council again invited Australia to declare the application of Article 76 to Papua, and in the same year Australia reported that this was policy.

D/2, an increase in the number of New Guineans in the legislature, was the subject of a demand each year after its introduction in 1949. In that year the Trusteeship Council recommended an increase of New Guineans in the legislature. The legislature formed in 1951 included three nominated indigenous members (of whom two were New Guineans). New Guineans were appointed as observers to the legislature in 1959.

The reform of the legislature in 1961 included an increase in indigenous membership from 3 to 11, of whom 8 were New Guineans. Hasluck denied that Australia had been influenced in the matter by the 'recent

¹ Planning could be seen as a continuing process rather than as a 'once-only' event, and this perhaps would be a happier classification. However, the United Nations seemed to be pressing for the preparation of a basic document to serve as a permanent blue-print of all activities; it was therefore classified as 'finite'.

² See Appendix 4.

³ See Appendix 5.

⁴ United Nations Document A/2427, p.85.

report of the Trusteeship Council' (Greenwood and Harper 1963:381); although, according to Leifer (1963:256), Australia had been influenced by opinion at the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, from which the Australian Prime Minister had returned shortly before the announced changes.

The next increase in indigenous membership of the legislature was a spectacular one, from 11 to 44 in the House of Assembly which first met in 1964. Two bodies were concerned with the emergence of the House: a Select Committee on Political Development appointed by the Legislative Council in March 1962,¹ and the 1962 visiting mission. The former was foreshadowed on 21 September 1961 by an elected member of the Legislative Council,² partly at least to express some initiative in constitutional matters. The Select Committee presented its report on 16 October 1962,³ and this laid the basis for the House of Assembly.

The visiting mission, led by Sir Hugh Foot, was in Papua-New Guinea from 8 April to 13 May 1962. It made the customary visits to Port Moresby and Canberra before returning to New York. Its report, examined and endorsed by the Trusteeship Council in mid-1962, recommended a legislature of 'about one hundred members'.⁴

In presenting the Select Committee's report in the Australian House of Representatives, the Minister for Territories denied there had been any influence from the United Nations.⁵ In 1961 the Administrator of the Commonwealth of Australia had said at the opening of the new Legislative Council, 'after experience of one full term of the newly constituted Council, and after a second general election - that is to say in five years from now - this Council and the Australian Parliament might be asked to consider what the next step forward should be' (Leifer 1963:256). There was certainly a change in policy on the tempo of legislature reform after 1961: the changes finalised in 1964 were initiated in 1962, but in 1961 the next changes had not been envisaged until 1966. It seems reasonable to recognise that this change of policy arose in part from United Nations pressures. It is probable that the visiting mission, while in Canberra, learnt of government proposals concerning reform of the legislature, and included their own version of them in its report. The record indicates significant United Nations influence in this issue.

¹ Legislative Council Debates (hereafter referred to as LCD), 6:4:388.

² LCD 6:3:200.

³ LCD 6:6:626.

⁴ United Nations Document T/1604, p.25.

⁵ CPD, vol.37, p.1782; although the Australian delegate to the Fourth Committee said on 12 December 1963 regarding the 1964 election preparations, 'These developments...are very closely in line with the recommendations of the United Nations Visiting Missions which reported last year on its visit to New Guinea' (Current Notes, vol.35, no.1, p.57).

D/3, a separate legislature for New Guinea, was a simple issue. Although the right to establish the one legislature common to both Papua and New Guinea was included in the Trusteeship Agreement, the Trusteeship Council recommended in 1949 and 1952 that Australia study the possibility of establishing a separate legislature for New Guinea. In 1959 the Trusteeship Council modified its demand that sessions of the Legislative Council be held in New Guinea. Australia reported (in 1959) that it had no plans for a separate legislature, and in a moment of undiplomatic frankness, declared that meetings of the joint legislature in New Guinea would be valueless and expensive. In 1965 it again reported 'no plans' for the separate legislature.

New Guinean membership of the Executive (Administrator's) Council, D/4, was raised as an issue in 1953, when, by resolution 752(VIII), the General Assembly requested the Trusteeship Council to report on the development of executive organs. In 1954 the Trusteeship Council recommended the nomination of New Guineans to the Executive Council. In 1961 one indigenous member, a Papuan, was included in the newly formed Administrator's Council, and Australia reported its intention to review the matter after one term; these moves were 'welcomed' by the Trusteeship Council. In 1964 the indigenous membership of the enlarged Administrator's Council was increased to 5, and of these, 3 were New Guineans.

D/5, the location of the seat of government in New Guinea, was raised in 1949 by the Fourth Committee.¹ The only responses from Australia were in 1959 and 1966 when it reported it had no plans for any such move.

D/6, a nationality and a national status for New Guineans, was 'urged' by the Trusteeship Council in 1950. In that year also it recommended the abolition of the immigration dictation test. The 'status' point was again urged in 1951, and in 1952 this was replaced by a 'hope' for 'Australian protected' status for New Guineans. In 1952 Commonwealth statutes were amended to give New Guineans the status of 'Australian protected persons'. The introduction of a name for New Guineans, and of a flag and national anthem, were recommended in 1956 and 1966 respectively. In 1957 Australia agreed that a name for New Guineans was important, and in 1960 reported that public discussion had commenced. The 1966 recommendation for a flag and anthem followed discussion of this point by the Select Committee on Constitutional Development.

D/7, the progressive development towards self-determination and self-government or independence, was the last of the issues. It comprehends all others as its consummation is the culmination of the trusteeship process.

The issue was initiated by both the General Assembly (resolution 226(III)) and the Trusteeship Council in 1948 with recommendations that

¹ No record has been found of the General Assembly taking up this issue.

all possible steps be taken. At the General Assembly in 1946 the Australian representative said it was possible that 'The task of promoting the welfare and the political and social development of New Guinea would still continue for the next twenty or even one hundred years' (Harper and Sissons 1959:186). Clearly, the question of target dates had been given no serious thought.

In 1947 the Administrator, Colonel Murray, was rather more specific:

There can be no question of extending rights of self-government to New Guinea until the native majority is politically organised; any demand from the European minority for further power would not be a further step towards a self-governing democracy, it would be the consignment of the natives to the rule of a colour-conscious oligarchy. Officialdom, whatever its shortcomings, must remain in the saddle and act as the guardian and mentor of native political advancement.

(Shaw 1965:175)

This statement is important, as it provides a means to understand the policy in this issue during the 1950s. It was, ironically, the policy which Hasluck implemented as Minister for Territories.

In 1949 the Trusteeship Council 'hoped' for 'all possible steps', and the General Assembly (adopting a draft resolution from the Fourth Committee) by resolution 320 (IV) asked the Trusteeship Council to report on plans for development. In the same year the Trusteeship Council commended the work done by Australia: the last support for some years.

In 1951 General Assembly resolution 558(VI) recommended the formulation of target dates, and the creation of the preconditions for self-government or independence. This was the first formal demand for target dates, a demand which was to become a most abrasive point in Australia's relations with the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council. Australia opposed the resolution in the General Assembly, and does not seem to have taken the United Nations pressures very seriously. In November 1951, Hasluck said that 'some form of self-government...may be...more than a century ahead'.¹

In 1953 the General Assembly again recommended (resolution 752(VIII)) target dates and, for the first time, consultation with New Guineans on the future. The Trusteeship Council was more cautious. At session twelve, during the discussion on New Guinea, the representative of Syria, firmly anti-colonial, nevertheless felt it necessary to say 'he was in full agreement with those members of the Council who stressed that political progress must necessarily be preceded by economic,

¹ South Pacific Post, January/February 1954, p.227.

educational and social development'.¹ The 1953 visiting mission reported, 'In seeking to appraise realistically the present situation and without taking into account the past actions of the Administration, the mission could not help but feel that some of the discussions that had taken place on the political advancement of the indigenous people had been premature'.² In 1954 and 1955 the General Assembly, prompted by the Fourth Committee, again sought target dates (resolutions 858(IX) and 946(X)).

In 1956 the Trusteeship Council recommended target dates and the creation of preconditions for self-government, but General Assembly resolution 1064(XI) (now an annual event) excluded New Guinea from its recommendations on target dates and independence at an early date. This Trusteeship Council recommendation was the first appearance in the Council of the 'early date' point. Australian Minister for External Affairs, Casey, commented on the Trusteeship Council recommendation, 'Economic development was perhaps to some extent susceptible of statistical treatment and stage-by-stage planning. But as regards political advancement...human and psychological elements were all important'.³

In 1957 the Trusteeship Council 'hoped' for plans leading to target dates 'when appropriate'; for the second time the General Assembly excluded New Guinea from its resolution 1207(XII). But in 1958 it was included in resolution 1274(XIII) which invited the Trusteeship Council to report on target dates and preconditions. In 1959 both the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council again took up the issue, with the Trusteeship Council more concerned with planning than the General Assembly. General Assembly resolution 1413(XIV) mentioned consultation with the representatives of the inhabitants as part of the process. The Trusteeship Council's invitation to Australia on target dates and preconditions in 1960 was overshadowed by the General Assembly's resolution 1514(XV) recommending immediate independence. Prime Minister Menzies anticipated this demand in his speech of 20 June 1960, in which he said (Walker 1964:63), 'I think the prevailing school of thought today is that if in doubt, you should go sooner, not later. I belong to that school of thought myself now, although I didn't once'. Leifer (1963:255) saw three influences at work on the Prime Minister: the 1960 Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference, the Dutch 'crash' programme in West New Guinea, and Trusteeship Council resolutions. Greenwood and Harper (1963:378) saw only the last two as influential.

In 1961 the General Assembly reaffirmed its 'immediate independence' policy with resolution 1654(XVI). Hasluck (1962:231) confirmed a change of policy in October 1961: 'Political pressures are likely to bring

¹ Trusteeship Council Report, 4 December 1952 to 21 July 1953, p.90.

² Ibid., p.81.

³ Current Notes, vol.27, no.8, p.511.

about political independence in Papua and New Guinea within a shorter time than the Australian government would have wished, if its objective of preparing the people and the economy were to be properly realised.' Thus the policy of uniform development, operative since 1951, was brought to an end.

The Trusteeship Council noted the change with satisfaction in its annual report for 1962-63. The new policy was confirmed by Prime Minister Menzies at the fifteenth session of the General Assembly, when he said, 'we regard ourselves as having a duty to produce as soon as is practicable an opportunity for complete self-determination for the people of Papua and New Guinea'.¹ In 1962 the General Assembly by resolution 1810(XVII) reaffirmed its adherence to the 'immediate independence' recommendation. The Trusteeship Council endorsed the major recommendation of the 1962 visiting mission led by Sir Hugh Foot, which was to establish a national representative legislature. In 1963 and 1964 the Trusteeship Council simply urged plans for development.

On 2 September 1964 the Papua-New Guinea House of Assembly unanimously carried a motion asserting the right of New Guineans to decide on a date for independence, and repudiating 'undue pressure from without'. The motion was addressed to 'the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, the Trusteeship Council and the General Assembly of the United Nations Organisation'.² Thereafter Australia was able to use the expressed wishes of elected representatives to justify its rejection of pressures for immediate independence.³ The anti-colonial countries in the United Nations could thus either repudiate the assumed universality of resolution 1514(XV) or pretend they had never advocated and valued consultations with the people in trust territories on questions of self-determination. They chose the latter, and resolutions 2112(XX) and 2227(XXI) of 1965 and 1966 pressed for immediate independence.

Summary. The 7 constitutional issues were all initiated by the United Nations. Only 1 - maintenance of trust territory identity within the administrative union (D/1) - was a continuing issue, and no progress on it was recorded. The 6 finite issues - increase in the number of New Guineans in the legislature (D/2), separate legislature for New Guinea (D/3), New Guinean membership of the Executive (Administrator's) Council (D/4), location of seat of government in New Guinea (D/5), nationality and a national status for New Guineans (D/6), and progressive development towards self-determination and self-government or independence (D/7) - were all incomplete in 1966.⁴

¹ GAOR, p.435.

² See HAD 1:2:158-66 for the motion and debate.

³ NGAR 1963-64:142.

⁴ The classification of D/2 and D/4 as finite issues was based on the view that the aims of the demands will be fulfilled when each body attains an exclusive New Guinean membership, and that attainment will take place at a specific point in time.

Petitions¹

Only twenty-seven petitions to the United Nations were made by persons in New Guinea between 1946 and 1966, in strong contrast to many other territories, for example, Somaliland and French Togoland. Factors which may have produced this small result include the general failure of petitions to produce results and the absence of any organised political use of the technique by political parties.

Table 1 shows the petitions and sessions of the Trusteeship Council at which they were considered.

Table 1

Petitions to the Trusteeship Council, 1946-66

Session	Petitions	Session	Petitions	Session	Petitions
1	-	12	3	23	-
2	-	13	-	24	1
3	-	14	1	25	-
4	-	15	-	26	3
5	1	16	-	27	1
6	-	17	-	28	-
7	1	18	-	29	5
8	-	19	-	30	2
9	2	20	3	31	-
10	-	21	-	32	-
11	1	22	3	33	-

The petitions arose mainly from specific grievances which may be classified as follows:

Civil rights, 2	Anti-local government, 1
Village official's pay, 1	Employment conditions, 3
Immigration, 4	Land alienation, 2
Judicial sentences, 2	Tax, 1
Produce marketing, 2	Chinese community school, 1
Resolution 1514, 1	West New Guinea, 1
Administration of justice, 1	Miscellaneous, 5

Only seven of the petitions were referred by the Trusteeship Council to Australia, and these were concerned with immigration (4) (all raised by persons of Chinese nationality), land alienation (2), and administration of justice (1). Agreement was ultimately reached in all matters between the Trusteeship Council and Australia. To date, petitions

¹ The material in this section is derived from the official records of the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council.

cannot be regarded as a significant element in the relations between the Trusteeship Council and Australia, except that the right of petition acts as a generalised latent control. The failure of New Guineans to see petitions as a political weapon in the past cannot be taken to mean that they will be ignored by organised political groups in the future.

Comparisons with other trust territories

There were eleven trust territories at the commencement of the trusteeship system: seven in Africa and four in the Pacific. Excluding the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands (which is a 'strategic' territory), all had the same relationship with the organs of the United Nations and were thus subject to its anti-colonial influences. They varied widely in history and culture, but all had in common a colonial government and pressures for rapid modernisation. To see the issues raised concerning New Guinea in a wider context, a comparison was made with the issues raised by the United Nations in Tanzania (then Tanganyika) and the British Cameroons.

The Trusteeship Council annual reports show that the issues investigated in New Guinea all received equally searching treatment in Tanganyika and the British Cameroons. Economic and social issues were investigated, as well as political-administrative matters, including political development, universal franchise and improvements in the public service. Similar constitutional problems such as the maintenance of the integrity of trust status, indigenisation in the legislature and executive, and target dates for independence were issues common to all three territories. It is clear from this evidence that the United Nations interest in trust territories was fairly constant, and that New Guinea received no exceptional treatment in the examination of its conditions.

Issues summary

Australia's status as an administering authority often placed it in opposition to the anti-colonial powers in the General Assembly and the Trusteeship Council, and this opposition was expressed in the General Assembly and Trusteeship Council discussions on these issues. The conflicting pressures within the United Nations centred on three areas: the establishment of the trusteeship system, the degree of supervision, and the speed of attainment of the Charter objectives. Having obtained the best possible organisational arrangements for supervision in the circumstances, and the best possible trusteeship agreements, the administering powers, including Australia, concentrated on three areas: they sought to maintain the position of the Trusteeship Council vis-a-vis the General Assembly, to restrict accountability to past actions, and to prevent it extending to future ones.

The anti-colonial powers concentrated on indigenous participation in the United Nations, dissemination of information on the United Nations, and the implementation of resolutions. These three points were intended to and did increase the pressures for independence (Hudson 1966:126, 205, 206 and 249). It was in this context that Australia sought to ensure a minimum of demands and a maximum of supports in the issues raised.

The limits of the Trusteeship Council's authority and its juridical relationship with administering powers were early sources of disagreement. In the first session of the Assembly in 1946 Australia insisted that 'the role of the Trusteeship Council was that of supervisor and not that of Administrator'.¹ In 1948 Prime Minister Chifley said, 'We have found it necessary...to resist attempts, on the part of non-administering countries, to interfere unconstitutionally with the primary responsibility of the powers administering trust territories'.² It was necessary to repeat this in 1954, and it still remained a contentious issue in 1966.

The use of specialised agency services is an aspect of relations with the United Nations in which Australia was usually unyielding. In 1947 Australia declared that it was 'prepared to give every consideration to any plans prepared by the Specialised Agencies where it is evident that such projects would be to the benefit of the Territory'.³ The co-operation of the specialised agencies was offered in issues concerning teacher training (A/5), expansion of adult education (A/8), improvement of health services (A/14), public health staff (A/15), over-all economic survey and plan (B/1), increase in Papua-New Guinea's revenue (B/3), participation of New Guineans in market agriculture (B/14), fostering of community development projects (C/15), and increase of New Guinean participation in the public service (C/21). But only in 1963 was a survey by the World Bank sought (B/1). The only other example to 1966 was the Goroka teachers' college (A/5) which is operated with UNESCO assistance.⁴

Action on social, economic, political-administrative and constitutional issues is detailed in Tables 2 to 5.

The United Nations initiated 59 of the issues, or 68 per cent, and Australia 28 issues, or 32 per cent; the United Nations initiated 35 finite issues, and 24 continuing ones, whereas Australia initiated 6 finite, and 22 continuing issues. Fifty-nine per cent of United Nations issues were finite, as compared with only 21 per cent of Australia's issues. A concern in the Trusteeship Council for clearly identifiable

¹ GAOR, First Session, p.95.

² CPD, vol.200, p.3902.

³ NGAR 1946-47:17.

⁴ See p.25, footnote 1, for details of some technical assistance which the specialised agencies have given since 1966.

Table 4

Political-administrative issues concerning New Guinea in the United Nations, 1946-66

Australia's initiative			United Nations initiatives								
No.	Finite issues		No.	Continuing issues		No.	Finite issues		No.	Continuing issues	
	Action timing	Completion		Action timing	Action timing		Completion	Action timing		Action timing	
C/2	Immed.	No.	C/12	Immed.		C/4	12 yrs delay	Yes	C/1	Immed.	
C/26	Immed.	Yes	C/14	Immed.		C/5	Immed.	No	C/3	Immed.	
			C/15	Immed.		C/6	14 yrs delay	Yes	C/10	17 yrs delay	
			C/23	Immed.		C/7	Immed.	No	C/11	Immed.	
						C/8	Immed.	Yes	C/13	Immed.	
						C/9	5 yrs delay	Yes	C/19	5 yrs delay	
						C/16	No action	No	C/21	Immed.	
						C/17	8 yrs delay	No	C/22	Immed.	
						C/18	5 yrs delay	Yes	C/29	Immed.	
						C/20	Immed.	Yes			
						C/24	No action	No			
						C/25	Immed.	Yes			
						C/27	8 yrs delay	Yes			
						C/28	No action	No			
Total	2	+				14		+			
Grand total	29			4 = 6 (21%)						9 = 23 (79%)	

Table 5

Constitutional issues concerning New Guinea in the United Nations, 1946-66

Australia's initiatives			United Nations initiatives								
No.	Finite issues		No.	Continuing issues		No.	Finite issues		No.	Continuing issues	
	Action timing	Completion		Action timing	Action timing		Completion	Action timing		Action timing	
						D/2	12 yrs delay	No	D/1	No action	
						D/3	No action	No			
						D/4	8 yrs delay	No			
						D/5	No action	No			
						D/6	2 yrs delay	No			
						D/7	3 yrs delay	No			
Total						6		+			
Grand total	7									1 = 7 (100%)	

results may have led the Trusteeship Council to focus attention on finite issues.

There was an increase in the percentage of issues initiated by the United Nations from Section A to Section D.

Section	United Nations %	Australia %
A Social	57	43
B Economic	61	39
C Political-administrative	79	21
D Constitutional	100	0

United Nations concern for political-administrative and constitutional issues was consistent with the general assumption of anti-colonial countries that foreign rule was always evil, and to be uprooted as soon as possible. The very small number of such issues that Australia took the initiative in raising reflected its own reluctance to have the United Nations discuss them.

Ten issues appeared in 1947, 27 in 1948, 19 in 1949, and 9 in 1950. Thus in the first 4 years (or about one-fifth of the period) three-quarters of the issues were raised. The other one-quarter appeared over the next 11 years; and the last 5 years were barren of new issues.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

The rapid increase in the number of sovereign nation-states after 1945 resulted from the dissolution of the empires of Britain, France, Belgium, and, in a smaller way, America and New Zealand. The ideological division of the world into 'free' and 'communist' blocs and non-aligned nations was accompanied by another into the 'colonial' and 'anti-colonial' powers, and these two divisions did not completely coincide. Some 'free' nations - the Scandinavian and South American countries - supported many anti-colonial issues and some non-aligned countries - India and Ceylon - were fully anti-colonial. America was in an ambiguous position: although traditionally anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist, the administration of the Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands, as MacDonald (1949:23) pointed out, weakened its capacity to pursue an anti-colonial policy in many situations. In addition, American policies in Asia, Africa and South America and domestic racial problems separated American practice of anti-colonialism from that of the Afro-Asians generally.

The trusteeship system emerged in this context, and it was therefore not surprising that colonial issues could not be treated on their own merits, but inevitably raised larger ones. The maintenance of law and order and the implementation of development programmes that characterised much colonial government were often put to one side in the pursuit of 'nationalism' and 'independence'.

Australia's governmental institutions are derived from the Westminster original, and Australia's policy, in addition to reproducing these in Papua-New Guinea, has been to foster local-level democracy and a healthy economic base for self-government. The policy of uniform development had its origins in 1944, but its implementation was most energetic from 1950 to 1960. It was clearly expressed by the Australian representative at the Trusteeship Council in 1956 as 'a policy dedicated to the development of all the peoples of the Territory and not to the emergence of a privileged elite in their midst'.¹ But uniform development was considered irrelevant to the real question of self-determination, because many of the anti-colonial powers are grappling with national development

¹ United Nations Document A/3170, p.322.

problems on the basis of a political culture that includes many pre-modern elements, and with a huge disparity between modern aspirations and resources for rapid modernisation.

The United Nations has served as a centre for the colonialism debate, where all could meet and exchange views in public and private. The anti-colonial members could, through these discussions, and by other means such as visiting missions, test their ideas and attitudes against the situations in the trust territories. While this appears to have had little result in the General Assembly where continuing demands were made for immediate independence, the Trusteeship Council early assumed the vital role of broker between the General Assembly and the administering authorities. The non-obligatory wording of many of its resolutions was noteworthy. Its adoption of this role arose from its greater knowledge of conditions in the trust territories and the lesser influence of anti-colonial nations in it. Harper and Sissons (1959:214) declared that 'Australia has profited considerably from the system in so far as it has made the Trusteeship Council much more conscious of the peculiar problems of the New Guinea administration'.

The 'club' character of the United Nations probably influenced the colonialism debate in two ways: by a general influence on members to seek a consensus on current matters wherever possible, and thus to remain in general harmony with other members; and by acting as a source of development assistance to new members. General Assembly resolution 1414(XIV), for example, invited the Economic and Social Council to study the opportunities of helping former trust territories, in consultation with their government, because 'during the first years of independence they will have to find speedy solutions to a considerable number of problems in the administrative, economic, social and educational fields'.¹

Doubtless, then, the United Nations has influenced the course of the colonialism debate. The speculative question of any influence the colonialism debate has had on the United Nations is worth a brief consideration. The Charter has separate procedures for dealing with issues from trust territories and from non-self-governing territories. But this juridical difference has been progressively minimised by the anti-colonial nations in the United Nations in their use of political rather than legal arguments. As far as the Charter has permitted, therefore, these two procedures have been joined largely by the formation of the Committee of Twenty-four. In 1964 this Committee, for the first time, considered Papua and New Guinea together, and there is evidence that formerly marginal territories are being brought increasingly within its scope.

The tabulation and discussion of issues reveal that the United Nations and Australia have maintained a dialogue on New Guinea for

¹ United Nations Document A/4354.

twenty years. Sometimes the exchange has been heated, but it seldom crossed the bounds prescribed by diplomatic custom and good temper. It commenced with agreement on explicit primary goals in the Trusteeship Agreement. Events in New Guinea have since offered evidence that Australia was making a sincere and thorough effort to meet the obligations it had assumed in the Agreement.

There is little evidence of direct cause-effect relationships between United Nations pressures and Australian responses in individual issues. But there is evidence of United Nations general influence. Australia has generally supported participation in the United Nations; and many of the issues that constitute its New Guinea policy in detail have been recommended by the Trusteeship Council and/or the General Assembly. Therefore, *prima facie*, it would be reasonable to assert that United Nations pressures have influenced some events in New Guinea. The major elements of the New Guinea policy of the Australian government had wide support across the main political parties in Australia, and therefore there was no major sustained internal opposition to stimulate changes in policy.

Australia was sensitive to criticisms of its New Guinea policy, and Greenwood and Harper (1963:337) saw this sensitivity as influential in policy formation. Firstly, the annual reports on New Guinea contained comments that implied direct Australian responses to Trusteeship Council pressures; secondly, speeches by members of the Australian delegation made at various organs of the United Nations also implied such responses; and thirdly, even if this evidence is viewed as biased because it arose from routine attempts to present events in the best possible light, it is significant that Australia considered these gestures worth making. The 32 per cent of the issues initiated by Australia indicated unmistakably that its responses to United Nations pressures took place as part of its own regular review of policy alternatives. This, combined with its adoption of some issues initiated by the United Nations and its deferment or rejection of others, suggest a positive and dynamic view of what the direction of New Guinea's development should be.

Worth noting are two points concerning United Nations work methods. First are the many instances in which the sequence of events in an issue indicated clearly that the Trusteeship Council made a recommendation on an issue immediately after it had been initiated by Australia. Examples are issues concerning general expansion of education (A/1), improvement of health services (A/14), public health staff (A/15), the commencement of a native land commission (B/10), and application of international labour conventions (B/25). Second are the instances of issues raised and then dropped when no favourable response was made. Examples are issues concerning the repeal of compulsory crop planting legislation (B/16), coffee and cocoa stabilisation funds (B/17), fostering of community development projects (C/15), and location of seat of government in New Guinea (D/5).

Turning from the direction to the tempo of events, Harper and Sissons' assertion (1959:213) that Trusteeship Council resolutions have 'accelerated action in several instances' is supported by the record. Instances are issues concerning expansion of secondary education (A/3), increase in the number of school inspectors (A/11), the repeal of all discriminatory legislation (A/17), liberalisation of curfew laws (A/19), introduction of income tax (B/4), and nomination of New Guineans to statutory boards (C/8). Other evidence suggests strongly that in 1961 the change in policy from that of 'uniform development' to one of the rapid creation of an indigenous public service and national democratic representative institutions resulted, at least in part, from United Nations pressures.

One last factor requires mention. The creation of the House of Assembly provided a forum for the formal expression of views of the tempo and direction of Papua-New Guinea's progress towards self-determination, and the influence on them of both the United Nations and Australia. The Members of the House did not hesitate to express their views, and it was clear that Australia at least was taking increasing notice of these views. Their orientation towards Australia was based primarily on shrewd calculations of Papua-New Guinea's interests and the way to advance them. While it may not necessarily continue, it did represent an endorsement of Australia's policies.

In summary, then, the evidence permits a conclusion that the United Nations has had only a little direct influence on the direction of development, but it has significantly increased the tempo of events in New Guinea. A mere increase in tempo, without significant change in direction, might not seem to be an influence of great importance for the future of New Guinea. But the constitutional and political changes have come about largely in response to external rather than internal demands, and rest upon external rather than internal supports. Therefore the question arises whether it is possible for the internal supports, so essential for a viable independent system, to be created at the speed sought by the external pressures. Among the essential but slow-to-grow supports for a viable independent system are a durable sense of nationality and social cohesion, increases in national income and adequate infrastructure, more literacy and better health, adequate balance in regional development, the transfer of the responsibilities for public administration to a largely indigenous public service, and a willingness by politicians, public servants and the defence forces to accept constitutional rule.

Much remains to be done in these fields, and it can be achieved through the new political system growing within Papua-New Guinea. Transfers of power and authority away from the United Nations as well as Australia are essential if a balance between the formalities and the realities of change is to be achieved.

Appendix 1

Social issues

The following abbreviations and explanations are used in Appendices 1 to 4:

GA	General Assembly
TC	Trusteeship Council
4C	Fourth Committee
CTF	Committee of Twenty-four
Rec.	Recommended
Req.	Requested
NWS	Noted with satisfaction
NWA	Noted with approval
Continuing	Referred to the specified points only
Proceeding	Referred to the issue generally

Unless otherwise indicated, all information on Australia's actions, commitments and comments was obtained from Australia's Annual Reports to the General Assembly of the United Nations on the Administration of the Territory of New Guinea for the year indicated. Information on the United Nations side was derived from the official publications of the organs indicated.

Only years where there was action of some sort by either Australia or the United Nations are included in the issue tables.

Issue A/1: General expansion of education

- Points: A. School building programme
 B. Local government councils' participation
 C. Long-range programmes
 D. UNESCO report
 E. Formation of department of education
 F. Education Ordinance

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			E done, C commenced		govt schools 28, pupils 1,800
1948	TC rec. A, GA225 rec. A				
1949	TC rec. A, 4C hoped A, GA324 hoped A		A		A important expenditure given
1950	4C rec. C, GA437 rec. C		A		
1951			A		
1953			A		
1955		TC NWS A	A		
1956	TC hoped A	TC commended A	F commenced		
1957			A		
1958	TC rec. A		A		
1959	TC hoped B		A		
1960			A	TC views noted	
1961			A		D noted
1962			A		
1963			A		
1964	CTF rec. A		A		
1965			A		schools 2,560, pupils 168,377

Issue A/2: Expansion of primary industry

- Points: A. Expansion
B. Study of drop-out and wastage causes

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	4C rec. A		A commenced		
1949			A		
1950			A		
1951	TC rec. A		A		
1952	TC urged A		A		
1953			A		
1954			A		
1955			A		
1956	TC rec. A		A		
1957	TC rec. A		A		
1958			A		
1959	TC rec. A	TC commended A	A		commendation noted
1960	TC wished rapid A		A		
1961	TC considered A too slow		A		
1962			A		
1963	TC urged B		A		
1964	TC believed A necessary		A		
1965			A		

Issue A/3: Expansion of secondary education

- Points: A. Expansion
B. Guidance to students at Australian schools
C. Provision of full facilities
D. Vocational bias
E. Planning
F. Mission participation
G. Integration

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949			A Keravat opened		
1952	TC urged A			A expected	A wrong policy currently
1953				A expected	
1954				A expected	
1955	TC rec. A			C now policy	A depended on primary school progress
1956	TC hoped A				
1957	TC hoped A	TC noted A, to date B			
1958	TC hoped A	TC noted C plan	A	A planned with F	
1959	TC hoped A	TC noted A	A		
1960	TC urged A	TC noted A, D	G		
1961	TC rec. A with speed	TC NWS A	A		
1962	TC rec. E	TC welcomed A	A		
1963	TC considered A needed		A		
1964	TC believed A necessary		A		
1965	TC rec. A		A		
1966	TC assumed more A needed				

Issue A/4: Apprenticeships and technical education

- Points: A. Expansion
 B. New courses
 C. Institute of Higher Technical Education
 D. Commonwealth reconstruction training scheme
 E. Native Apprenticeship Ordinance
 F. Annexes
 G. Lae technical school
 H. Community technical training centres
 J. Junior technical schools

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			A commenced		
1948			D in operation, A continuing		
1951			D converted to B		
1952			E commenced		
1953			F operating		facilities limited
1955			G started		facilities limited
1956		TC noted A	A	A planned	
1957			G progressing		
1958			Rabaul and Lae operating		Rabaul and Lae 4-year course
1959			Rabaul and Lae continuing		
1960			2H opened		
1962			2H opened, 4J operating		148 students, C in- vestigation
1965	TC rec. A		A in students, B started		
1966			C opened		

Issue A/5: Teacher training

- Points: A. Expansion
 B. Aid to missions
 C. Attract more New Guineans
 D. UNESCO teacher exchange
 E. Improve present staff qualifications
 F. UNESCO co-operation
 G. Cadet training scheme
 H. Course improvement

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947				A in plan	
1948	TC rec. A, 4C rec. A, GA225 rec. A		A Keravat operat- ing	G in plan	
1949	TC rec. A		A Sogeri operating		
1950	TC urged A		A continuing		
1951	TC rec. A		A operating		
1952	TC rec. A		H, G commenced		
1953	TC rec. A		A		
1954			A		
1955	TC rec. A		A one-year course started		now 3 courses
1956			A, B, E		
1957		TC NWS B	A, B, C, E		
1958		TC commended A	A, B, E		
1959	TC urged C		A, B, C, E		
1960	TC rec. A		Rabaul special course started		
1961	TC hoped A	TC welcomed A	A, B, C, E		
1962	TC rec. C, D	TC commended A	A, B, C, E		A special attention
1963	TC rec. E		A, B, C, E		
1964	TC suggested D				
1965	TC rec. F		F commenced		Goroka College

Issue A/6: Overseas study scholarships

- Points: A. Granting for study in Australia
 B. Commission on Higher Education
 C. Scholarships for women
 D. Higher education should be independent of means

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC rec. A, GA225 rec. D				
1949	TC rec. A		A when necessary		
1951	TC rec. A				
1952	TC rec. A				
1954			A commenced		
1955	TC hoped A	TC NWS A	A		
1956			A		
1957			A		
1958			A		
1959			A		
1960			A		
1961			A		
1962			A		
1963	TC stressed C, urgently rec. A	TC welcomed B	A		
1964	TC hoped C, rec. increase A		A		A providing for all necessary
1965	TC rec. increase A				

Issue A/7: University foundation

- Points: A. Foundation
 B. Commission on Higher Education
 C. Members of the House of Assembly on Interim Council
 D. Courses suitable local conditions
 E. Medical faculty
 F. Committee on higher training
 G. Special preparatory course
 H. University plans

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949			A in plan when necessary		
1961	TC rec. G	TC noted H	F appointed	planning A	
1962	TC rec. A	TC welcomed H	E formed		
1963		TC welcomed B, noted A intention			
1964					need for A recognised
1965		TC NWS decision for A	A students enrolled		need for E being reviewed
1966	TC hoped D	TC NWS A, welcomed C			

Issue A/8: Expansion of mass literacy campaign (adult education)

- Points: A. Commencement and/or expansion
 B. Employers' assistance in schools
 C. UNESCO participation
 D. Laubach experiment
 E. Mass literacy editorial committee
 F. Literacy classes
 G. Broadcasts and films
 H. Division of extension services
 J. Community education course
 K. Adult education council

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			G commenced		
1948			G	planning A	staff limiting A
1949	GA330 invited C				
1950			D commenced, E formed		
1951	TC rec. A		D complete		
1952			G		
1953			G		
1954			G		
1955			G		
1956			G		
1957			G		
1958			G		
1959	TC rec. B		G		
1960			H formed, G		
1961			J commenced, G		
1962		TC commended A			
1963			K formed proceeding		
1964			F commenced proceeding		
1965			F		122 F classes
1966		TC commended A			

Issue A/9: Integration in schools

- Points: A. At primary level
 B. Separate schooling contrary to Charter
 C. Commencement of integrated schooling
 D. Statistics on cost of separate schooling
 E. Two syllabi schools

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	4C noted B, rec. C, D, GA324 noted B, rec C, D, GA328 noted B, rec. C, D				
1958	TC hoped C				
1964	TC rec. A		C commenced	C policy	E may be answer

Issue A/10: Increased Administration participation in education vis-a-vis missions

- Points: A. Expanded Administration role
 B. Legislation to implement
 C. Inspections of missions
 D. Missions to pool efforts
 E. Education Ordinance
 F. Assistance to missions

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC rec. A		A commenced		
1949	TC rec. A	TC commended A	B in draft		
1951	TC hoped A				
1952			E drafted		
1955	TC hoped F more	TC commended F			
1956	TC rec. more C	TC welcomed B, noted F	E commenced		
1957		TC NWS F			
1959	TC hoped A		C increasing		
1960	TC considered im- portant full C, encouraged D				
1961	TC rec. A	TC welcomed some D	C increasing		
1963			C increasing		

Issue A/11: Increase in school inspectors

- Points: A. Extra appointments
 B. Inspections of mission schools

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1954	UNESCO rec. A				
1955			provision for A		
1957	TC hoped A		A done		
1960	TC rec. A	TC noted A	B increasing		
1961	TC believed B necessary				
1963			B increasing		

Issue A/12: Appointment of local government councillors to education advisory board

- Points: A. Appointments
 B. Part of local government councils in education
 C. Preparatory period as observers

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1957	TC suggested A				C under consideration
1960		TC welcomed B, noted plans for C			
1965			several A made		

Issue A/13: Inclusion of United Nations material in primary school curriculum

- Points: A. TC to continue efforts
B. Inclusion of material

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC rec. B				
1949	GA324 rec. A				
1950			B commenced		
1951			B continuing		
1952			B		
1953			B		
1954			B		
1955			B		
1956			B		
1957			B		
1958			B		
1959			B		
1960			B		
1961			B		
1962			B		
1963			B		
1964			B		
1965			B		

Issue A/14: Improvement of health services

- Points: A. Expansion of facilities
B. Hospital building programme
C. Control campaigns
D. World Health Organisation surveys and liaison
E. Health education
F. Surveys

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			A commenced, 2 F done	E policy	
1948	TC rec. A	TC noted A		D policy	
1949	TC rec. A		A, F continuing	D will get full consideration	A hampered by shortages noted TC comments
1950	TC rec. A		A, F		
1951		TC hoped A continued	A, F		
1952			A, F		
1953	TC urged B		A, F		
1954			B, C		
1955		TC NWS A	A, F		
1956	TC urged B		A, F		
1957		TC NWS A, C	proceeding		
1958		TC commended A, B, C	proceeding		
1959		TC NWS B, C	proceeding		
1960	TC hoped B	TC NWS B		D get particular attention	TC rec. closely read
1961	TC rec. D	TC NWS B	D		
1962		TC commended A	D		
1963	TC hoped more A, rec. D		D		
1964		TC commended A	continuing		
1965		TC commended A	E		
1966		TC commended A			

Issue A/15: Public health staff

- Points: A. Train New Guineans as doctors
 B. Train New Guineans as aid post orderlies
 C. Papuan Medical College
 D. Recruit New Guinean personnel
 E. Training for higher positions
 F. Staff from specialised agencies
 G. Recruit from Australia
 H. Cadetships
 J. Assistant director of training
 K. Commonwealth reconstruction training scheme

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			B proceeding		staff 140
1948	TC rec. A, B		B proceeding through K		
1949			G-40 recruits		
1950			A 1 at Fiji	C proposed	
1951			B continuing		
1952	TC rec. A		J appointed		
1953	TC rec. B		G proceeding, B proceeding	A students will go Suva	C plans
1954			H commenced		
1955	TC rec. A, B		proceeding		
1956	TC rec. A, B		proceeding		C in plan
1957			proceeding		
1958	TC rec. A, B		800 in training		
1959	TC rec. A	TC welcomed C	C opened		
1960	TC rec. A, B, D		proceeding		
1961	TC rec. E		proceeding		issue getting most urgent attention
1962	TC rec. F		proceeding		
1963			proceeding		
1964	TC hoped A graduates soon		proceeding		
1965		NWS 3 NG graduates	proceeding		staff 4,235

Issue A/16: Development of indigenous arts and cultures

- Points: A. Research and recordings
 B. School emphasis
 C. Cariappa art competition

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948			A commenced		
1949			A continuing		
1950			A		
1951	TC hoped A continue		A		
1952			A		
1953			proceeding	is a main aim of Education Department	
1954			proceeding		
1955			A, B		
1956			C commenced		
1957			proceeding		
1958			proceeding		
1959			proceeding		
1960			A, B		
1961			proceeding		
1962			proceeding		
1963			proceeding		
1964			proceeding		
1965			proceeding		

Issue A/17: The repeal of all discriminatory legislation

- Points: A. Early repeals
 B. Racial classification of hospitals
 C. Elimination of all discriminatory practices
 D. Review of statutes
 E. Native Employment Regulation Bill
 F. Discriminatory Practices Ordinance
 G. Liquor discrimination
 H. Skills only basis for wage difference
 J. Preference to New Guineans in land leases

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC considered H				some protection statutes
1949	TC rec. A, GA323 rec. A, C		D proceeding		
1950	TC rec. A				C none existed
1951	TC urged A		D continuing		
1952	TC urged A				
1953	TC invited J				
1958			E withdrawn		
1959	TC rec. drop B	TC NWS A			
1961	TC rec. A, J, req. report		D		A impractical
1962			G removed		
1963			F passed		
1965	TC rec. G				issue policy
1966	TC rec. A, C	TC recognised A	C policy and done		

Issue A/18: Abolition of corporal punishment

- Points: A. Early action
 B. Amending legislation to reduce

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	TC rec. A, 4C rec. A, GA323 rec. A		A examined		not used for many years
1950	GA440 rec. A				
1951	TC rec. A		B passed	issue policy	statutes under review
1952	TC rec. A		reduced use of corporal punishment		
1953	TC hoped for A				present law necessary
1954	TC urged A				no change
1955	TC rec. A				
1956	TC rec. A				
1957	TC rec. A				
1958	TC rec. A				once used only in 1956-57 and 1957-58

Issue A/19: Liberalisation of curfew laws

- Points: A. Action to remove restrictions
 B. Review of legislation
 C. Growth of civic-mindedness

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	TC rec. early A		B commenced		
1950			B continuing		
1954			B continuing, A done		
1956	TC rec. A		A done	A with C	
1957	TC rec. A				some restrictions still necessary
1958	TC hoped A				
1959		TC NWS A	A done		

Issue A/20: Provision of urban housing

- Points: A. Construction efforts
 B. Establishment of a housing commission
 C. Housing loans scheme
 D. Material experimentation

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1953			C established		
1957			D commenced		
1958			D continuing		
1959			D		
1960			D		
1961			D		
1962			D		
1963			D		
1964			D		
1965			D		
1966	TC rec. increasing A	TC noted A	B approved		

Issue A/21: Advancement of women

- Points: A. Reservation of local government council seats for women
 B. Special attention
 C. Women's clubs
 D. Overseas students
 E. Female education division
 F. Creation of position in public service
 G. Plans
 H. Women's central committee
 J. Voting in local government council elections
 K. General advancement

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			B from E		
1948			F and G commenced		
1950			H formed		
1951					J reported
1952			C formed	K policy	
1953			C expanding		
1954			C expanding		
1959			46 C formed		
1960	TC rec. A, B	TC welcomed and commended B	60 C operating		A rejected, B better
1961	TC hoped B				
1962			122 C operating		
1964			1 D arranged		B continuing
1965			236 C operating		

Issue A/22: Establishment of corrective institutions

- Points: A. Commencement
 B. Reforming legislation (Corrective Institutions Ordinance)

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1957				A planned	
1958		TC welcomed A			
1959			B commenced		
1960		TC noted B commencement			

Issue A/23: Juvenile parole

- Points: A. Planning commencement
 B. Application to adults
 C. Child Welfare Ordinance

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1957				A reported	issue under consideration
1958		TC welcomed A			B under consideration
1962			C commenced		

Appendix 2

Economic issues

Issue B/1: Overall economic survey and plan

- Points: A. Surveys
 B. Plans
 C. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
 D. Economic advisor
 E. Special agency help
 F. Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
 G. Australian National University
 H. Agricultural development plan

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948					many pre-war A exist
1949			A, B commenced		
1950		TC NWS A plan			
1951	GA561 rec. TC seek E		A, B continuing	F to make A	
1952	TC rec. A			G to make A	
1953	TC rec. and req. A		A, B		A staff shortage
1954			A, H		
1955	TC hoped A, B	TC NWS A			
1956	TC rec. A		A, F		
1957	TC hoped A	TC NWS A			
1958	TC hoped A				
1959	TC urged B, D				
1960	TC rec. B				
1962	TC rec. A, B	TC noted B, C	C sought		
1963	TC hoped B	TC commended C			
1964	TC hoped B				C commendation noted
1965	TC suggested B	TC NWS A	A		C report received
1966		TC NWS D	D appointed	C report adopted	

Issue B/2: Increased participation of New Guineans in economic development

- Points: A. Participation of New Guineans
 B. Use of Economic and Social Council facilities
 C. Expatriate enterprise
 D. Cottage industries

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948			A commenced (Rabaul)	A policy	
1949	TC rec. A, GA322 rec. A		A	A policy	
1950	GA439 rec. B		A	A policy	
1951	TC hoped A		A		
1952	TC rec. A		A	A policy	
1953			A		C valuable
1954			A increasing		
1955	TC hoped A	TC NWS A	A increasing		
1956			A		
1957			A		
1958	TC rec. D	TC commended A	A		
1959		TC commended A	A	B will use if necessary	commendation noted
1960			A		
1961			A		A pace increasing
1962			A		
1963			A		
1964	CTF increase pace A				
1965	TC considered A good				
1966		TC commended A			

Issue B/3: Increase in Papua-New Guinea's revenue

- Points: A. Increase revenue
 B. Commonwealth grant
 C. United Nations assistance
 D. House of Assembly control of foreign investment
 E. Start of Development Bank
 F. Expatriate investment

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			B increased £2,018,673		Revenue = £0.59 m.
1948	TC rec. A		B increased		
1949			B increased		
1950		TC commended B	B increased		
1951			B increased		
1952			B increased		
1953	GA762 TC report on A		B increased		
1954			B increased		
1955			B increased		
1956		TC noted B	B increased		
1957		TC noted B	B increased		
1958		TC NWS B	B increased		
1959	TC sought C	TC NWS B	B increased		
1960	TC sought C	TC NWS B	B increased		
1961	TC sought C	TC NWS B	B increased		
1962		TC noted B	B increased		
1963		TC noted B	B increased		
1964	TC hoped B increased	TC NWA B	B increased		
1965	TC rec. D		B increased	E in plan	Revenue = £7.45 m.
1966		TC welcomed E, F, C	B increased £16,936,724		

Issue B/4: Introduction of income tax

- Points: A. Commencement of income tax
 B. Direct personal tax
 C. Contributions from all directly
 D. General review
 E. Enabling legislation

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC rec. A				
1949	TC rec. A				A none raised
1950	TC urged A				
1951					A none levied
1952					A not practical or desirable
1953	TC hoped for A				A not yet opportune
1954					no change
1955	TC hoped for A, considered C good				
1956	TC hoped for A				A under consideration
1957	TC rec. A	TC noted consideration of A			A under consideration
1958		TC NWS start of B	D in hand, B commenced		
1959		TC noted A bills in legislature	E introduced		
1960	TC rec. termination B	TC NWS start A	A after careful thought		
1961	TC considered rate of A too low				A rates reasonable, B useful

Issue B/5: Abolition of native head tax

- Points: A. Abolition
B. Collections

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948					no B since 1945
1949	TC rec. A				A under consideration

Issue B/6: Increase in royalty on gold

- Points: A. Increase
B. Income tax on mining companies
C. Company profits
D. Financial review

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	TC rec. A				C listed connected with income tax
1950	TC urged A or B				
1951	TC rec. A		A considered and rejected	D in hand	5% current rate
1952	TC rec. A on interim scale				5% current rate
1960			See B/4		

Issue B/7: Improvement and development of road system

- Points: A. Expansion
B. New Guinean self-help
C. Plan
D. Lae-Goroka road
E. Transport needs survey
F. Army participation

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1950			A commenced		1,931 miles
1951	TC urged A		A continuing		
1952	TC rec. A		A		
1953	TC urged A		A	A plans made	
1954			A		
1955			A		
1956	TC hoped A	TC A progress commended	A from 1951 to 1956 an increase from 2,660 to 4,394 miles		A commendation
1957		TC A progress noted, NWS B			
1958			A		
1959			A		
1960	TC suggested A, C		F		
1961	TC considered A slow	TC welcomed C			
1962	TC rec. D next		E made		
1963		TC commended A			
1965	TC rec. A		A		5,747 miles

Issue B/8: Provision of credit facilities for New Guineans for economic development

- Points: A. Facility commencement
 B. New Guinean economic and commercial activity
 C. Development Bank
 D. Survey of demand
 E. Native loans board
 F. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development scheme
 G. Native Loans Fund Ordinance
 H. New Guinea ex-servicemen's credit scheme

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948			B commenced	B policy	
1950				A in plan	
1952	TC rec. A				
1955			G commenced		
1957	TC hoped A for B				
1958	TC hoped A for B			H announced	
1962			D made		A no need for large scheme - small one
1963			E started		
1964					E operating, African schemes studied
1965				govt approved F	
1966	TC hoped C will help				

Issue B/9: Alienation of New Guinean-owned land

- Points: A. Policy of caution
 B. Return to vendors some alienated land
 C. Leases to expatriates
 D. Loans to local government councils and co-operative societies
 E. Prior consultation with New Guineans on concession granted
 F. Joint Trusteeship Council - Food and Agriculture Organisation study
 G. Reduction of lease period

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC felt A needed			A policy	A in existing statutes
1950	4C rec. TC study				
1951	GA561 rec. F				
1952	TC rec. A			A always been policy	
1953	TC rec. B			A policy	
1954				A policy	
1956	TC hoped A	TC NWS A		A always been policy	
1957	GA1208 rec. F				
1959	TC rec. G			A always been policy	
1960					G opposed
1961	TC urged A, concerned on C, rec. D				A satisfactory
1965	TC rec. E				E noted

Issue B/10: Native land commission

- Points: A. Commencement
 B. Chief commissioner
 C. Commissioners
 D. Land titles commission
 E. Land registration
 F. Amalgamation of native land commission and land titles commission

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1951			enabling statute commenced		
1952	TC rec. A		B appointed		
1953	TC rec. A	TC welcomed A	C appointed, E commenced		
1954			E continuing		
1955			E		
1956			E		
1957			E		
1958			E		
1959			E		
1960			E		
1961			E		
1962			E		
1963			D formed		
1964			E		
1965			E		

Issue B/11: Land tenure conversion

- Points: A. Need for commencement
 B. Plans
 C. Secure individual registered title
 D. Discussion in House of Assembly
 E. TC study
 F. Resettlement
 G. Land Titles Commission Ordinance

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1950	GA438 rec. E				
1957	GA1208 rec. E				
1958				A policy	
1959		TC noted A, Admin. statement			
1960		TC welcomed policy of A		C policy	
1961	TC req. info. on B		A planning in hand		
1962	TC suggested C as common system		G in draft		
1963	TC urged A, suggested D				
1964	TC rec. D		G commenced	A and F policy	
1965	TC hoped D would find solution				
1966	TC urged progress	TC approved progress			

Issue B/12: Land development board membership

- Points: A. Appointment of New Guineans
B. Review of board's functions

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1960	TC considered A important				A kept in mind
1961	TC considered A important				A under examination during B
1965					A none made

Issue B/13: Resettlement

- Points: A. Expansion
B. Market agriculture
C. Leases to expatriates

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1959	TC rec. A				
1960	TC rec. B, C req. caution				
1961	TC concerned with C				
1962			Warangoi proceeding	A plan for 7,500 indigenous blocks	
1963			proceeding		
1964			proceeding		
1965			proceeding		

Issue B/14: Participation of New Guineans in market agriculture

- Points: A. Expand participation
B. Agronomic training
C. New/improved crops introduction
D. Production by local government councils and co-operatives
E. Department of agriculture, stock and fisheries
F. Rural progress societies
G. Assistance of specialised agencies

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			E formed	A policy	
1948	TC rec. A		encouraging A		
1949		TC NWA A		A policy	
1950			proceeding		
1951			proceeding		
1952	TC urged A	TC commended progress A	proceeding		
1953			proceeding		
1954			A high priority		
1955		TC NWS A	proceeding		
1956	TC hoped B F expansion	TC commended progress A, noted F	A getting high priority		
1957		TC commended C, NWS A	A getting high priority		
1958		TC noted C, commended B	proceeding		
1959		TC commended A	proceeding	A will continue get attention	
1960		TC commended C, NWS A	proceeding		
1961	TC hoped A, rec. D, F, G	TC commended A	proceeding		
1962			proceeding		New Guineans producing $\frac{1}{2}$ copra, $\frac{1}{4}$ cocoa, $\frac{1}{2}$ coffee
1963			proceeding		
1964			proceeding		
1965			proceeding		

Issue B/15: The training of New Guineans in agriculture

- Points: A. General training
 B. Vudal agricultural college
 C. Popondetta agricultural training institute
 D. Expansion
 E. Diploma course at B
 F. Plan to double local officers

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1950			A commenced		
1951			A continued		
1952			A		
1953			A		
1954			A on stations		
1956	TC hoped A continuation				
1957	TC hoped A continuation		A actively pursued		
1958	TC hoped A, D	TC commended D	B opened		
1959	TC urged A, D	TC commended progress A		F announced	
1963			C opened	E soon	
1965			E commenced		

Issue B/16: The repeal of compulsory crop planting legislation

- Point: A. Legislation

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948					A little used since 1942
1950	TC rec. repeal A				

Issue B/17: Coffee and cocoa stabilisation funds

- Points: A. Commencement
 B. International commodity agreements
 C. Growers' agreement
 D. Copra stabilisation fund

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			D commenced in 1946		
1960	TC rec. A				A not needed, B better
1961	TC rec. A			C necessary pre-requisite	

Issue B/18: Development of a fishing industry

- Points: A. Plan for development
 B. Survey of methods
 C. Survey of resources
 D. Exploitation of resources
 E. Promotion
 F. Action plan
 G. Training programme

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948			B commenced, C		
1949		TC NWA A			
1950			C continuing		
1952			E commenced		
1953			E continuing		D not yet commercial
1957	TC considered need for A	TC commended F	C, F commenced		
1960	TC hoped A			B and C policy	
1961	TC rec. A, D		E, G commenced		
1962			E, G		
1963			E, G		
1964			E, G		
1965			E, G continuing		

Issue B/19: Encouragement of resource utilisation through industry

- Points: A. Plan
 B. Sugar industry
 C. Cattle industry
 D. Local processing of primary products
 E. Industrial Development Ordinance
 F. Surveys
 G. Cottage industry
 H. Desiccated coconut manufacture
 J. Encouragement of secondary industry

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			C commenced		
1948			H established		
1950	TC rec. A				
1952			H continued		
1953			H	J policy	
1954			J continued		Primary more important than secondary
1959	TC urged B, consideration G				F in H and B
1960	TC req. more thought B		F in hand		under consideration
1961	TC rec. B	TC welcomed progress C			
1965	TC rec. A		E commenced		
1966	TC hoped encouragement D	TC NWS E			

Issue B/20: Training of New Guineans in industrial management

Points: A. Commencement
 B. Co-operative training
 C. Commercial instruction
 D. Port Moresby co-operative educational centre
 E. Business advisory service

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948			C commenced		
1949			C		
1950			C		
1951			C		
1952	TC rec. A		B commenced		
1953			B continuing		
1954			B continuing		
1955			B, C		
1956			B, C		
1957			D operating		
1958	TC considered expansion B good		B, C, D		
1959			B, C, D		
1960			B, C, D		
1961			B, C, D		
1962			B, C, D		
1963			B, C, D		
1964			B, C, D		
1965			E commenced, B, C, D		
1966			B, C, D		

Issue B/21: Nationality of company shareholders

Point: A. Legal requirement that two-thirds must be British

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1951	TC wanted info. on A				
1954			A examination proceeding		

Issue B/22: Development of co-operative enterprises

Points: A. Expansion
 B. Use for market agriculture
 C. Native Economic Development Ordinance
 D. Co-operative Society Ordinance
 E. Surveys
 F. Plantation leasing

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948			A commenced		
1949	TC hoped A	TC commended A	D passed	A policy	
1950			E commenced		
1951			E, F commenced		
1952	TC urged B		C commenced		A figures given
1953	TC rec. B		A		societies 73, turnover £0.3 m.
1954			A		A figures given
1955		TC noted A commenced	A		A figures given
1956	TC sought A	TC A progress commended	A		
1957		TC NWS A	A		A figures given
1958			A		A figures given
1959			A		
1960			A		A figures given
1961			A		
1962			A		
1963			A		
1964			A		
1965			A		societies 153, turnover £1.25 m.

Issue B/23: Encouragement of collective bargaining and trade unions

- Points: A. Collective bargaining
 B. Trade union formation
 C. New unions
 D. Federation

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC rec. A				
1949	TC rec. A, B				B under consideration no discouragement
1951	TC rec. B				no B yet
1953				B policy	
1961	TC hoped expansion B	TC welcomed B			
1962			3 C formed		
1964			3 C formed		
1965			4 C formed		D probable soon 11 unions

Issue B/24: Abolition of indenture of labour

- Points: A. Abolition
 B. Agreements
 C. Reduction to one year
 D. Control of number in employment

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demand	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947					
1948		TC noted C	C done, D done	A within 5 years	
1949	TC rec. A		A on 30 Dec. 1950		
1951		TC noted A	B replaced indenture		

Issue B/25: Application of international labour conventions

- Points: A. Early attention
 B. Conventions in force

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948					3 B reported
1950	TC urged A				
1951	TC urged A				
1956			1 more B		
1965					13 B

Issue B/26: Increase in wages for New Guineans

- Points: A. Increased wages
 B. Cost-of-living survey
 C. Periodic review
 D. Native employment board
 E. New Guinean member of native employment board
 F. Immediate elimination of wage disparities
 G. Negotiations
 H. Cash wage agreements
 J. Rural wages board of enquiry

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			A to 15/- from 5/-		
1948	TC rec. A	TC noted A			
1949	TC rec. A, GA322 rec. A				details given
1950	TC urged C				
1951	TC rec. B				B when possible
1953					F not racial
1956	TC rec. A		A to 25/-	will consider A	views noted
1958	TC rec. A, hoped C			D will examine A	
1959	TC rec. A	TC noted C			
1960	TC hoped D would A				
1961	TC rec. A	TC welcomed E			G becoming standard method
1962			A to 30/-		
1963			H commenced		
1964	CTF demanded F				
1965	TC hoped A		J appointed		

Issue B/27: Equal pay for equal work

- Points: A. Commencement
 B. Public service differential rates

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC rec. A				
1949	TC rec. A				legal minimum same, few instances same work
1953					differences not racial
1955			B commenced		

Issue B/28: Cost-of-living surveys

- Points: A. Performance
 B. Plan

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947					A not done
1948	TC rec. A				A not done
1949	TC rec. A			A planned	A not yet possible
1950	TC req. A	TC NWS B			A not practicable
1951	TC asked A in next report				A not practicable
1952					A not practicable
1953					A not practicable
1954					A not practicable
1955					A not practicable
1956					A not yet possible
1957					A not yet possible
1958					A not yet possible
1959					A not yet possible
1960					A not yet possible
1961					A not yet possible
1962					A not yet possible
1963					A not yet possible
1964			A reported		

Political-administrative issuesIssue C/1: Increase in tempo of political, economic, social and educational advancement

- Points: A. Increase tempo
 B. Sufficient resources by Administration
 C. Help from international agencies
 D. Political target dates
 E. Economic, social and educational target dates
 F. Three-level simultaneous political development (local, district, national)
 G. Consultation with representative organs
 H. Uniform development
 J. Independence
 K. House of Assembly Select Committee on Constitutional Development
 L. Stress on economic investment
 M. Visiting missions must report fully

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	4C rec. A, GA226 rec. A		This issue overlaps A/1, A/14, A/17, B/2, B/14, B/20, B/26, C/3, C/6, C/12, C/21, D/2, D/7. Australia's responses to these issues are relevant to this one.		
1949	GA321 rec. M				
1950	TC rec. A				
1951	TC hoped A				
1956	TC hoped B				
1960	TC rec. C, F, invited D, E				
1961	TC rec. D and C	TC welcomed E		C if warranted	
1962	TC urged D after G				
1963	TC urged D after G	TC NWS H cannot delay J			
1964	TC urged D after G				
1965	TC urged A for D after G	TC NWS K commended A			
1966		TC commended L			

Issue C/2: General co-ordinated long-range plan

- Points: A. Preparation
 B. Target dates
 C. Social dev. planning committee, Port Moresby
 D. Federal cabinet committee
 E. Planning and development secretary, Port Moresby
 F. Surveys
 G. International Bank for Reconstruction and Development report
 H. Inter-departmental committee, Canberra
 J. 5-year education plan
 K. Agriculture plan
 L. Fisheries action plan
 M. Australian National University
 N. Commonwealth Scientific and Industrial Research Organisation
 O. Australian Bureau of Mineral Resources

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			D working on A (10 year), H formed		
1948	TC rec. A		C formed	C will work on A	
1949	TC rec. A		A continuing, E appointed		will report
1950	GA437 rec. J	TC commended work			
1951	TC hoped A			F policy	
1953	TC hoped A		F by M, F by N		
1954			F by N		
1955			E abolished		
1956			F by N		
1957	TC hoped A, B		F by N, K operating, L		
1958			F by N		
1959	TC hoped A, B	TC noted J			
1960			A proceeding for econ. social, educ. F plan announced F by N-O		
1961					
1963			G done		

Issue C/3: Political advancement of New Guineans

- Points: A. Creation of opportunities
 B. Encouragement of political organisations
 C. Legislative Council
 D. Local government council experience
 E. Simultaneous development at three levels (local, district, national)
 F. Formation of political party
 G. Parliamentary Under-Secretaries Ordinance

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC rec. A				no specific statutes passed
1949			D commenced		
1950	TC rec. A		D		
1951			D		
1952			D		no F
1953			D		no F
1954			D		no F
1955			D		
1956	TC rec. D		D	policy	
1957			D	policy	
1958			D		
1959		TC noted D	D		United Progress Party formed
1960	TC urged B, E		D, C instituted		spontaneity best
1961	TC hoped B	TC noted F	C, D, E		D correct policy
1962			C, D, E		
1963			G commenced		
1964	TC rec. B		C, D, E		UPP disbanded
1965			C, D, E		

Issue C/4: Participation of New Guineans in United Nations proceedings

- Points: A. Consideration by Australia
 B. Inclusion of New Guineans in delegation
 C. Secretary-General arrange inclusion of some New Guineans
 D. Visiting missions initiate discussions with New Guineans
 E. World Health Organisation
 F. Food and Agriculture Organisation
 G. United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	GA554 invited A				
1952	TC hoped B, GA653 invited B				B not policy
1953	GA746 rec. C				
1954	GA853 rec. D				
1961			B commenced		
1964			B done in E, F, G		

Issue C/5: Extension of territorial control

- Points: A. Increase in tempo
 B. Plan
 C. Staff recruitment and training
 D. 1963 target date
 E. Progress in reduction of uncontrolled area

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	TC rec. A		some A, E		35,318 sq. miles uncontrolled
1950	TC req. B		some A, E		
1951	TC hoped A		E		
1952					10,000 sq. miles remain
1953		TC commended A			8,500 sq. miles remain
1954					6,900 sq. miles remain
1955		TC NWS E	E, B prepared		
1956	TC hoped A	TC noted E	E		
1957		TC NWS A, B	E		
1958	TC concerned non-fulfilment B		E		
1959	TC rec. A, C		E		B satisfactory
1960	TC hoped B effective		E	D reported	
1961		TC NWS B, welcomed D	E		
1962			E		
1963			E		4,100 sq. miles remain
1964			E		
1965					967 sq. miles remain

Issue C/6: Universal suffrage

- Points: A. Introduction
 B. 1964 general election
 C. Voting age 18 years for women
 D. Trusteeship Council report
 E. Removal of electoral discrimination
 F. New Guineans excluded from voting by statute
 G. Unenrolled electors

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948					A not necessary, thus no legislation no suffrage laws
1950	TC rec. A				
1951	TC rec. A				
1952					F noted
1953	GA752 req. D				
1954					F noted
1956	TC rec. A			policy	
1960				G, A policy	
1961	TC hoped A at next election	TC noted A plan	G instituted		
1962	TC rec. A				
1964	TC suggested C	TC commended B	A commenced		C not policy
1966	GA2227 wanted E		Minister: E done, A done		

Issue C/7: Legalising of traditional courts

- Points: A. Legalising
 B. Base on local government councils
 C. Plans
 D. Appointment of New Guineans as assessors in courts
 E. Established judicial system
 F. Enquiry in judicial system
 G. Encourage use of established judicial system

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	TC rec. A		A legislation in draft	A policy	C in existence
1950		TC NWS A plan	A legislation in draft		
1951	TC urged A			A as soon as possible	A not yet possible
1952	TC urged A				
1954					recs noted, A under consideration
1955					A under consideration
1956	TC rec. B			G policy	A not policy, E best
1957	TC req. G info., hoped for D	TC noted G			D under consideration
1958	TC rec. A, B				
1959	TC hoped for D	TC noted F		F planned	
1960			F done		

Issue C/8: Nomination of New Guineans to statutory boards

- Point: A. Copra marketing board membership

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1960	TC rec. A			A one will be made	
1961		TC welcomed A	A one made		A skills a prerequisite

Issue C/9: Appointment of New Guineans to district and town advisory councils

- Points: A. Making of appointments
 B. Start in advanced parts of New Guinea
 C. Adequate numbers on councils
 D. Conditions appropriate
 E. Training function of membership
 F. New Guinean majority on district advisory councils

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1951			TACs formed	DACs policy	
1952	TC rec. A		DACs formed		A not policy
1953	TC rec. A			A when D	
1956	TC rec B			A now	E recognised
1957	TC hoped A	TC NWS A	A, 8 made		
1958	TC hoped A	TC NWS A	A, 15 made		
1959	TC hoped A	TC noted A	more made		
1960	TC urged A		more made		
1961	TC urged C		more made		
1962				F under review	
1963			F commenced		
1964			F done		

Issue C/10: Granting of greater initiative to district and town advisory councils

- Points: A. Review proposed constitutions
 B. Start of municipal government
 C. Expansion of municipal government
 D. More regard to council recommendations
 E. Council formation
 F. Strengthening of local government councils

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC rec. A				
1951			4E	E approved	
1952			E in all districts		
1962	TC rec. B				B under consideration
1964	TC hoped for B, C24 rec. B via F				
1965	TC rec. B		1 B (Goroka)		
1966	TC hoped for C, urged D	TC NWS B (Goroka)			

Issue C/11: Transference of New Guineans from a tribal system to modern democratic local government

- Points: A. Programme of expansion
 B. Native Village Councils Ordinance

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	TC rec. A		B commenced		
1950	TC rec. A				
1952					A policy

Issue C/12: Increase in number of local government councils

- Points: A. Expansion
 B. Popular demand
 C. Examination of anti-council sentiment
 D. Total coverage as soon as possible
 E. Native Local Government Council Ordinance

See C/11

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949			E passed		
1950	TC urged A		A commenced		
1951	TC rec. A		A continuing	D policy	
1952	TC rec. A		A continuing		
1953	TC rec. A		A		
1954					
1955	TC rec. A	TC NWS A			no increase
1956	TC rec. A on basis B		A		
1957		TC NWS A	A		
1958		TC commended A	A		
1959	TC rec. C	TC commended rapid A			pop. in councils now 119,532
1960	TC rec. A	TC welcomed A	A		pop. in councils now 40% of Trust Territory
1961	TC confidence in more A	TC welcomed A	A		
1962			A		
1963			A		
1964		TC noted A	A		
1965	TC rec. D		A	D policy	A/72 councils 900,000 persons
1966	TC rec. D	TC welcomed A			

Issue C/13: Increased responsibility for local government councils

Points: A. Increase in responsibility
 B. Tolai conferences
 C. Vunadidir conferences
 D. Annual conferences
 E. Regional councils

F. Public health extension
 G. Levying of estate tax
 H. Native Village Councils Ordinance
 J. Fiscal training
 K. Multi-racial basis

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC hoped A				
1949	TC rec. A		H passed		tax power was J
1950	TC urged A				
1953	TC urged E				
1956	TC rec. A				
1958			B commenced		
1959			D commenced		
1960	TC rec. A	TC welcomed B	D acted on		
1961	TC hoped for E	TC welcomed C, F, noted D	D		
1962	TC rec. A, G		D		
1963		TC welcomed A	law amended to provide K, D		
1964	TC hoped for A, C24 rec. A		D		
1965	TC rec. A		D		
1966	TC urged D resolu- tions action	TC welcomed A, NWS K			

Issue C/14: Granting of central government funds to local government councils

Point: A. Allocation of grants

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1961			A commenced		
1962	TC rec. A to good councils		Review proceeding, A continuing		
1963	TC suggested A expansion		A		
1964		TC noted A com- mencement			
1965			A		

Issue C/15: Fostering of community development projects

Points: A. Commencement
 B. Use of special agencies and South Pacific Commission
 C. Function of district administration
 D. Tabar project

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1952			D commenced		
1953	TC rec. A, B			will examine	B if necessary
1964			C commenced		

Issue C/16: Introduction of a civil register

Point: A. Commencement

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949					none in existence
1950	TC rec. A				
1951	TC rec. A				

Issue C/17: Use of Melanesian Pidgin

- Points: A. Plan for its elimination
 B. Use of indigenous languages for instruction
 C. English teaching
 D. Suitability of Pidgin
 E. Declaration of Human Rights

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	GA329 rec. B				
1950			broadcasts in Pidgin		D Pidgin unsuitable
1953	TC rec. A			A proceeding	Pidgin not taught
1956	TC hoped for A			C policy	
1962				E published in Pidgin	

Issue C/18: Establishment of a United Nations information centre

- Points: A. Establishment
 B. Greater efficiency
 C. Secretary-General's attention

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1957	TC hoped for A				
1958	GA1276 rec. A				
1959	GA1410 rec. C				
1960	GA1607 rec. A, C				
1961	GA1644 rec. A, C			A announced as policy	
1962		GA1859 NWS A	opened on 24 April		
1963	TC rec. B				
1966		TC NWS B			

Issue C/19: Dissemination of United Nations information

- Points: A. Australia to supply Secretary-General with suitable addresses
 B. Dissemination essential
 C. Arrangements
 D. Expert report
 E. Information dissemination
 F. United Nations Information Centre
 G. Seek United Nations help
 H. Publication of annual reports

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC req. A, GA36 req. A				
1951	GA556 noted B				
1953	TC hoped E, rec. A, GA754 considered C poor		E commenced		
1954	GA853 rec. H		E continuing		
1955			E		
1956	TC rec. G, E		E		
1957	TC hoped E	TC noted E	E		
1958	GA1276 req. S-G use D		E		
1959		TC noted improved C	E		
1960			E		
1961		GA1644 noted E	E		
1962			E		
1963			E		
1964			E		
1965	TC urged E		E, F helped		
1966		TC NWS E			

Issue C/20: The use of the United Nations flag

- Points: A. Request to Trusteeship Council to pursue with administering authorities
B. Fly flag as appropriate

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	GA325 TC req. A				
1950	TC req. B			will do B as appropriate	

Issue C/21: Increase of New Guinean participation in the public service

- Points: A. Preparation of New Guineans
B. Training programmes
C. Commencement of public service institute
D. Auxiliary division
E. Promotion of New Guineans to senior positions
F. Use of U.N. training facilities
G. Higher training schemes
H. Integrated public service
J. Administrative College
K. Central schools education
L. Overseas study
M. Position functions simplification
N. End of career appointments for overseas public servants

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948	TC rec. A		K relevant		
1949	4C rec. A, F				
1950	TC rec. A				
1951	TC rec. G, GA557 rec. F				
1952	TC hoped A		K continuing		New Guineans on minor clerical duties
1953	GA753 rec. G, GA752 TC report on E		L proceeding		
1954			L, C		
1955	TC rec. A	TC noted C	D approved, B expanding, L		
1956	TC rec. D, GA1063 rec. F	TC noted C	L		
1957	TC hoped D expanded, GA1209 rec. F	TC NWS D			
1958	TC hoped E, GA1277 rec. F	TC NWS B	A proceeding		
1959	GA1412 urged A, F	TC commended B	L, D		
1960	TC rec. F, GA1611 rec. F	TC welcomed D	M commenced		
1961	TC rec. E, F, GA1643 urged F		B through J	H in plan, F if necessary	
1962	TC rec. G, F		F commenoed	H planning	
1963	TC urged G		A general speed-up	H legislation in draft	
1964	TC urged G	TC NWS H	J expansion, N commenced, B expansion H commenced		H included as 'one-line' organisation
1965	TC rec. E, J		L	E policy	
1966	TC rec. faster E	TC commended A			

Issue C/22: Expansion of the public service

- Points: A. Expansion
 B. Recruitment of New Guineans
 C. Cadetships
 D. Psychology in selection
 E. Stop public service becoming top heavy
 F. Annual grand total of public service

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			F 975		
1948	TC hoped A		F 1022		
1949			F 1081		
1950	TC hoped A		F 1314		
1951			F 1280		
1952			F 1293		
1953			F 1447, C commenced		
1954			A by reclassification, F 1675		
1955			F 1918		
1956			F 2196		
1957			F 2700		
1958			F 3177		
1959	TC rec. A		F 3484	D planned	
1960	TC rec A		F 4155		
1961	TC rec. A, B		F 5218		
1962	TC rec. C, E		F 5437		
1963	TC rec. A		F 6010		
1964			F 6389		
1965			F 9323		

Issue C/23: Improvement of public service conditions

- Points: A. General improvement
 B. Salaries increase
 C. Arbitration Ordinance
 D. Superannuation Ordinance

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949			B done		
1951	TC hoped A		B done		
1952			C passed, D passed		

Issue C/24: Establishment of a public service commission

- Points: A. Formation
 B. New Guinean membership
 C. Private member's bill in House of Assembly

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1961	TC rec. A, B				
1965			C introduced		
1966			C disallowed		

Issue C/25: Formation of a department of trade and industry

- Points: A. Formation
 B. Trade stimulation
 C. Association with New Guineans

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1960	TC rec. A			A in plan	
1961	TC hoped B, rec. C	TC welcomed A	A reported		

Issue C/26: Formation of a department of labour

- Points: A. Formation
 B. Abolition

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			A reported		
1951			B reported		functions transferred
1961		TC welcomed A	A reported		

Issue C/27: Suitability of the name of the department of native affairs

- Points: A. Change
 B. District administration
 C. District services and native affairs
 D. Native affairs

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			C in use		
1948			C		
1949			C		
1950			C		
1951			C		
1952			C		
1953			C		
1954			D replaced C		
1955			D		
1956	TC rec. A		D		A not policy
1957			D		
1958			D		
1959			D		
1960			D		
1961			D		
1962			D		
1963			D		
1964			B replaced D		
1965			B		
1966			B		

Issue C/28: Delegation of more authority to district commissioners

- Points: A. Delegation
B. Greater trust territory autonomy

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948					D.O. is Administrator's rep.
1953	TC rec. A				many A exist
1959	TC rec. A as need of B				examining A under examination
1960		TC welcomed A			

Issue C/29: Recruitment of mature patrol officers for peaceful penetration

- Point: A. Recruitment

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	TC rec. A				A tried

Appendix 4

Constitutional issues

Issue D/1: Maintenance of trust territory identity within the administrative union

- Points: A. Review union
 B. Maintain integrity of trusteeship aims
 C. Application of Article 76 to Papua
 D. Union
 E. Trusteeship Council investigation and report
 F. Union has advantages
 G. House of Assembly wish for Papua/New Guinea link
 H. Papua and New Guinea Act 1948
 J. Denial of future popular wish for union
 K. Government as one entity

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			H sent to TC		
1948	TC rec. A, GA224				
	rec. E				
1949	GA326 rec. E, C				
1950	GA443 rec. E		H commenced		Union provided for
1951	GA563 req. E				
1952	GA649 req. E				
1953	Vis. Mis. reported F, TC endorsed F				
1956		TC noted no wish by admin. for B, J			
1959	TC invited to B	TC noted B			
1960		TC noted B			
1961	TC invited C			C policy	
1962	TC rec. respect for aim of D	TC NWS D, K			
1966		TC noted G			

Issue D/2: Increase in the number of New Guineans in the legislature

Points: A. Increase in seats for New Guineans	J. House of Assembly
B. Commencement of legislature	K. Adult suffrage
C. Observer appointments	L. Fully elective legislature
D. Permission for public servants to stand	M. Committees
E. New Guinean interest in elections	N. Responsible government
F. Reduction official majority	P. Select Committee on Political Development
G. Right of missions to seats	Q. TC report
H. 1961 reform of legislature	R. Local government council experience

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	TC rec. A				A under consideration, B not yet
1950	TC rec. A				
1951	TC rec. A, B		B on 26 Nov.	A if necessary	
1952	TC hoped for A, B				
1953	TC rec. C, GA752 req. Q				R necessary
1954	GA858 rec. A, B			C under study	R necessary
1955	TC rec. C				
1956	TC rec. D, A				A in view, D not policy
1957	TC hoped for A				R necessary
1958	TC regretted no A	TC NWS C plans		C under study	
1959	TC hoped A	TC noted E	C commenced	H under study	
1960	TC regretted no A, rec. F, questioned G			A in plan	
1961	TC noted with regret G	TC welcomed H, F	H commenced Sept., P mentioned		further review anticipated
1962	TC rec. A		P formed March 1962		
1963	TC hoped K	TC noted J plan			
1964	TC rec. L, suggested M, CTF rec. L	TC noted J start	J commenced		
1965		TC NWS J			
1966	TC believed N, rec. note P	TC welcomed J			

Issue D/3: Separate legislature for New Guinea

Points: A. Establishment study
B. Meetings of joint legislature in New Guinea

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	TC rec. A				
1950					under study
1952	TC rec. A				
1959	TC considered B good				B valueless and expensive, A no plans
1960	TC hoped for B				
1966					no plans for A

Issue D/4: New Guinean membership of the Executive (Administrator's) Council

- Points: A. Nomination of New Guineans
 B. Review of composition
 C. Trusteeship Council report on development of executive organs
 D. Experience in local government organs
 E. Change to responsible government
 F. Limited ministerial functions
 G. Administrator's Council
 H. Enlargement

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947					no Executive Council
1949			Executive Council formed		all officials
1953	GA752 req. C				
1954	TC rec. A				D necessary first
1961	TC hoped A	TC welcomed G	G formed (one Papuan)	B after one term	views noted
1962		TC welcomed H			
1963		TC welcomed A			
1964		TC NWS A	A (three), G enlarged		
1965	TC suggested preparation for E				
1966		TC welcomed B		F if public demand	

Issue D/5: Location of seat of government in New Guinea

- Point: A. Location in New Guinea

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1949	4C considered A necessary				
1959					A no plans
1966					no plans for A

Issue D/6: Nationality and national status for New Guineans

- Points: A. Grant of a status to New Guineans
 B. Introduction of a name for New Guineans
 C. Search for a name by consultation with public
 D. Further information
 E. National flag and anthem
 F. Differing status of Papua and New Guinea
 G. 'Australian-protected persons' status for New Guinean
 H. Removal of dictation test for immigration

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1948					no A granted to date
1950	TC urged A, rec. H				A undefined
1951	TC urged A				A undefined
1952	TC hoped for G		G granted		
1956	TC rec. B	TC noted B			C important
1957	TC rec. C				early decision on A unlikely
1958	TC hoped for C				
1959	TC req. D, hoped for C				no decision on A yet
1960	TC hoped for C		C commenced		
1961	TC urged C, suggested B		C continuing		B no objection
1965			E by select committee		
1966	TC rec. E	TC noted F no barrier			

Issue D/7: Progressive development towards self-determination and self-government or independence

- Points:
- A. All possible steps
 - B. Plans for political, economic, social and educational development
 - C. TC to pursue and report
 - D. Independence at early date
 - E. Formulation of target dates
 - F. Creation of preconditions for self-government or independence
 - G. Urgent implementation of R1514 demanding immediate independence
 - H. TC report to include separate sections
 - J. CTF to report
 - K. Inalienable right of New Guinea to self-government or independence
 - L. Failure to implement R2112 concerning independence
 - M. Rights of New Guineans to choose future
 - N. Select Committee on Political Development
 - O. 'Parliament of New Guinea'
 - P. Consultation with New Guineans on future
 - Q. Development of revenue
 - R. Uniform development policy
 - S. Papua-New Guinea Provisional Admin. Act 1945
 - T. Self-determination is policy when chosen
 - U. Papua and New Guinea Act 1949
 - V. Immediate independence
 - W. Enlargement of legislature

Year	United Nations		Australia		
	Demands	Supports	Actions	Commitments	Comments
1947			S in force		
1948	TC rec. A, 4C rec. A, GA226 rec. A				
1949	TC hoped A, TC rec. B info., GA320 C on B	TC commended work	U in force		
1951	GA558 rec. E, F		Legislature formed on U basis		
1953	GA752 rec. H, E, P, Q				
1954	4C rec. C, GA858 rec. C				
1955	GA946 req. C				
1956	TC rec. E, F, GA1064 rec. D,* E		in hand		E inappropriate
1957	TC hoped B, E where appropriate, GA1207 rec. D*			E policy when in accord. with Art. 76b of Charter	
1958	GA1274 invited C, E, F	TC noted E not policy			
1959	TC hoped B, E, F, GA1413 invited E, D			same as 1957	
1960	TC invited E, F, GA1514 rec. V, G			Minister: E for econ., social and educ. policy	Minister: E were guesses and hopes
1961	GA1654 rec. V, G		W made	N foreshadowed E for econ., social and educ. policy	A full details already given
1962	TC rec. O, urged E by P, GA1810 rec. V, G		N appointed	P policy	respect for M
1963	TC urged B				respect for M
1964	TC urged B, CTF req. G		O commenced		respect for M, no barrier to A
1965	GA2112 req. G, E, C, J				
1966	GA2227 reaffirmed K, deplored L, called on C, D	TC welcomed T	legislature motion affirming M		Minister: reaffirmed M

* New Guinea not specifically mentioned by name.

Appendix 5

United Nations Charter - Chapters XI, XII and XIII on trusteeship and non-self-governing territories

Chapter XI. Declaration regarding non-self-governing territories

Article 73

Members of the United Nations which have or assume responsibilities for the administration of territories whose peoples have not yet attained a full measure of self-government recognise the principle that the interests of the inhabitants of these territories are paramount, and accept as a sacred trust the obligation to promote to the utmost, within the system of international peace and security established by the present Charter, the well-being of the inhabitants of these territories, and, to this end:

- a. to ensure, with due respect for the culture of the peoples concerned, their political, economic, social, and educational advancement, their just treatment, and their protection against abuses;
- b. to develop self-government, to take due account of the political aspirations of the peoples, and to assist them in the progressive development of their free political institutions, according to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and their varying stages of advancement;
- c. to further international peace and security;
- d. to promote constructive measures of development, to encourage research, and to co-operate with one another and, when and where appropriate, with specialised international bodies with a view to the practical achievement of the social, economic, and scientific purposes set forth in this Article; and
- e. to transmit regularly to the Secretary-General for information purposes, subject to such limitation as security and constitutional considerations may require, statistical and other information of a technical nature relating to economic, social, and educational conditions in the territories for which they are respectively responsible other than those territories to which Chapters XII and XIII apply.

Article 74

Members of the United Nations also agree that their policy in respect of the territories to which this Chapter applies, no less than in respect of their metropolitan areas, must be based on the general principle of good-neighbourliness, due account being taken of the interests and well-being of the rest of the world, in social, economic, and commercial matters.

Chapter XII. International trusteeship system

Article 75

The United Nations shall establish under its authority an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements. These territories are hereinafter referred to as trust territories.

Article 76

The basic objectives of the trusteeship system, in accordance with the Purposes of the United Nations laid down in Article 1 of the present Charter, shall be:

- a. to further international peace and security;
- b. to promote the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of the trust territories, and their progressive development towards self-government or independence as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of each territory and its peoples and the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned, and as may be provided by the terms of each trusteeship agreement;
- c. to encourage respect for human rights and for fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion, and to encourage recognition of the interdependence of the peoples of the world; and
- d. to ensure equal treatment in social, economic, and commercial matters for all Members of the United Nations and their nationals, and also equal treatment for the latter in the administration of justice, without prejudice to the attainment of the foregoing objectives and subject to the provisions of Article 80.

Article 77

1. The trusteeship system shall apply to such territories in the following categories as may be placed thereunder by means of trusteeship agreements:

- a. territories now held under mandate;
- b. territories which may be detached from enemy states as a result of the second world war; and
- c. territories voluntarily placed under the system by states responsible for their administration.

2. It will be a matter for subsequent agreement as to which territories in the foregoing categories will be brought under the trusteeship system and upon what terms.

Article 78

The trusteeship system shall not apply to territories which have become Members of the United Nations, relationship among which shall be based on respect for the principle of sovereign equality.

Article 79

The terms of trusteeship for each territory to be placed under the trusteeship system, including any alteration or amendment, shall be agreed upon by the states directly concerned, including the mandatory power in the case of territories held under mandate by a Member of the United Nations, and shall be approved as provided for in Articles 83 and 85.

Article 80

1. Except as may be agreed upon in individual trusteeship agreements, made under Articles 77, 79, and 81, placing each territory under the trusteeship system, and until such agreements have been concluded, nothing in this Chapter shall be construed in or of itself to alter in any manner the rights whatsoever of any states or any peoples or the terms of existing international instruments to which Members of the United Nations may respectively be parties.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not be interpreted as giving grounds for delay or postponement of the negotiation and conclusion of agreements for placing mandated and other territories under the trusteeship system as provided for in Article 77.

Article 81

The trusteeship agreement shall in each case include the terms under which the trust territory will be administered and designate the authority which will exercise the administration of the trust territory. Such authority, hereinafter called the administering authority, may be one or more states or the Organisation itself.

Article 82

There may be designated, in any trusteeship agreement, a strategic area or areas which may include part or all of the trust territory to which the agreement applies, without prejudice to any special agreement or agreements made under Article 43.

Article 83

1. All functions of the United Nations relating to strategic areas, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the Security Council.

2. The basic objectives set forth in Article 76 shall be applicable to the people of each strategic area.

3. The Security Council shall, subject to the provisions of the trusteeship agreements and without prejudice to security considerations, avail itself of the assistance of the Trusteeship Council to perform those functions of the United Nations under the trusteeship system relating to political, economic, social, and educational matters in the strategic areas.

Article 84

It shall be the duty of the administering authority to ensure that the trust territory shall play its part in the maintenance of international peace and security. To this end the administering authority may make use of volunteer forces, facilities, and assistance from the trust territory in carrying out the obligations towards the Security Council undertaken in this regard by the administering authority, as well as for local defence and the maintenance of law and order within the trust territory.

Article 85

1. The functions of the United Nations with regard to trusteeship agreements for all areas not designated as strategic, including the approval of the terms of the trusteeship agreements and of their alteration or amendment, shall be exercised by the General Assembly.

2. The Trusteeship Council, operating under the authority of the General Assembly, shall assist the General Assembly in carrying out these functions.

Chapter XIII. The Trusteeship CouncilCompositionArticle 86

1. The Trusteeship Council shall consist of the following Members of the United Nations:

- a. those Members administering trust territories;
- b. such of those Members mentioned by name in Article 23 as are not administering trust territories; and
- c. as many other Members elected for three-year terms by the General Assembly as may be necessary to ensure that the total number of members of the Trusteeship Council is equally divided between those Members of the United Nations which administer trust territories and those which do not.

2. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall designate one specially qualified person to represent it therein.

Functions and powersArticle 87

The General Assembly and, under its authority, the Trusteeship Council, in carrying out their functions, may:

- a. consider reports submitted by the administering authority;
- b. accept petitions and examine them in consultation with the administering authority;
- c. provide for periodic visits to the respective trust territories at times agreed upon with the administering authority; and
- d. take these and other actions in conformity with the terms of the trusteeship agreements.

Article 88

The Trusteeship Council shall formulate a questionnaire on the political, economic, social, and educational advancement of the inhabitants of each trust territory, and the administering authority for each trust territory within the competence of the General Assembly shall make an annual report to the General Assembly upon the basis of such questionnaire.

Voting

Article 89

1. Each member of the Trusteeship Council shall have one vote.
2. Decisions of the Trusteeship Council shall be made by a majority of the members present and voting.

Procedure

Article 90

1. The Trusteeship Council shall adopt its own rules of procedure, including the method of selecting its President.
2. The Trusteeship Council shall meet as required in accordance with its rules, which shall include provision for the convening of meetings on the request of a majority of its members.

Article 91

The Trusteeship Council shall, when appropriate, avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council and of the specialised agencies in regard to matters with which they are respectively concerned.

Appendix 6

Trusteeship Agreement for the Territory of New Guinea

Approved by the General Assembly of the United Nations at the Sixty-Second Plenary Meeting of its First Session on 13 December 1946

The Territory of New Guinea has been administered in accordance with Article 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations and in pursuance of a mandate conferred upon His Britannic Majesty and exercised on His behalf by the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia.

The Charter of the United Nations, signed at San Francisco on 26 June 1945, provides by Article 75 for the establishment of an international trusteeship system for the administration and supervision of such territories as may be placed thereunder by subsequent individual agreements.

The Government of Australia now undertakes to place the Territory of New Guinea under the trusteeship system, on the terms set forth in the present Trusteeship Agreement.

Therefore the General Assembly of the United Nations, acting in pursuance of Article 85 of the Charter, approves the following terms of trusteeship for the Territory of New Guinea, in substitution for the terms of the Mandate under which the Territory has been administered.

Article 1

The Territory to which this Trusteeship Agreement applies (hereinafter called the Territory) consists of that portion of the island of New Guinea and the groups of islands administered therewith under the Mandate dated 17 December 1920, conferred upon His Britannic Majesty and exercised by the Government of Australia.

Article 2

The Government of Australia (hereinafter called the Administering Authority) is hereby designated as the sole authority which will exercise the administration of the Territory.

Article 3

The Administering Authority undertakes to administer the Territory in accordance with the provisions of the Charter and in such a manner as to achieve in the Territory the basic objectives of the international trusteeship system, which are set forth in Article 76 of the Charter.

Article 4

The Administering Authority will be responsible for the peace, order, good government and defence of the Territory and for this purpose will have the same powers of legislation, administration and jurisdiction in and over the Territory as if it were an integral part of Australia, and will be entitled to apply to the Territory, subject to such modifications as it deems desirable, such laws of the Commonwealth of Australia as it deems appropriate to the needs and conditions of the Territory.

Article 5

It is agreed that the Administering Authority, in the exercise of its powers under Article 4 will be at liberty to bring the Territory into a customs, fiscal or administrative union or federation with other dependent territories under its jurisdiction or control, and to establish common services between the Territory and any or all of these territories,

if in its opinion it would be in the interests of the Territory and not inconsistent with the basic objectives of the trusteeship system to do so.

Article 6

The Administering Authority further undertakes to apply in the Territory the provisions of such international agreements and such recommendations of the specialised agencies referred to in Article 57 of the Charter as are, in the opinion of the Administering Authority, suited to the needs and conditions of the Territory and conducive to the achievement of the basic objectives of the trusteeship system.

Article 7

The Administering Authority may take all measures in the Territory which it considers desirable to provide for the defence of the Territory and for maintenance of international peace and security.

Article 8

The Administering Authority undertakes that in the discharge of its obligations under Article 3 of this agreement:

1. It will co-operate with the Trusteeship Council in the discharge of all the Council's functions under Articles 87 and 88 of the Charter.

2. It will, in accordance with its established policy:

- (a) take into consideration the customs and usages of the inhabitants of New Guinea and respect the rights and safeguard the interests, both present and future, of the indigenous inhabitants of the Territory, and in particular ensure that no rights over native land in favour of any person not an indigenous inhabitant of New Guinea may be created or transferred except with the consent of the competent public authority;
- (b) promote, as may be appropriate to the circumstances of the Territory, the educational and cultural advancement of the inhabitants;
- (c) assure to the inhabitants of the Territory, as may be appropriate to the particular circumstances of the Territory and its peoples, a progressively increasing share in the administrative and other services of the Territory;
- (d) guarantee to the inhabitants of the Territory, subject only to the requirements of public order, freedom of speech, of the press, of assembly and of petition, freedom of conscience and worship and freedom of religious teaching.

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